

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1887.

The Week.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S veto of the little Texas Seed Bill is a fit pendant to his veto of the great Dependent Pension Bill. Nothing could possibly have happened better calculated to enforce the moral of his negative upon a great Northern raid on the public Treasury than this opportunity to block a petty Southern raid. It was the same principle as that of the Pension Bill, that the Government ought to come to the help of anybody who is in distress, which prompted the passage of the Seed Bill. Certain Texas counties have suffered severely from a long-continued drought, and the farmers are in need of seed grain. But instead of organizing a movement to relieve this distress in the only proper way, by the subscriptions of their fellow-citizens in Texas, or by an appropriation of the State Legislature, an appeal was made to Congress for \$10,000 worth of seeds for distribution among the sufferers, and the appeal was granted by both the Senate and House. This was only an extension of the same theory which has led many Southerners to endorse a scheme for appropriations from the Federal Treasury to help support the public schools in their States, instead of having the States themselves fully support them, as they are abundantly able to do. "It is hard," they said, "for our people to raise as much money as we need to secure good schools. If we are going to extend the length of the terms, as we ought to do, we shall have to increase the rate of taxation. Now, there is a great surplus in the Treasury at Washington. What better use can be made of it than to devote part of it to improving our schools?"

The demand of Northern Republicans for more pensions for Union soldiers, and the demand of Southern Democrats for Federal appropriations for their schools, were thus based upon the same fundamental principle, that an appeal to the general Government for assistance is in order whenever anybody needs help—in other words, that the Government should support the people. It is this principle which Mr. Cleveland combats in his pension and seed-bill vetoes. "I can find no warrant for such an appropriation in the Constitution," says the President in his message of last week; "and I do not believe that the power and duty of the general Government ought to be extended to the relief of individual suffering which is in no manner properly related to the public service or benefit. A prevalent tendency to disregard the limited mission of this power and duty should, I think, be steadfastly resisted, to the end that the lesson should be constantly enforced that, though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people." After remarking that the friendliness and charity of our countrymen can always be relied upon to relieve their fellow-citizens in mis-

fortune, as "has been repeatedly and quite lately demonstrated" (referring evidently to the liberal contributions for the relief of Charleston), Mr. Cleveland says: "Federal aid in such cases encourages the expectation of paternal care on the part of the Government, and weakens the sturdiness of our national character, while it prevents the indulgence among our people of that kindly sentiment and conduct which strengthens the bonds of a common brotherhood."

The report of the House Pension Committee in favor of passing the Pauper Pension Bill over the President's veto is an exceedingly weak attempt at self-defence. The best reply to their plea that the bill is a just and proper measure, is the fact pointed out by a Union soldier in a published letter that, while a wounded veteran may receive only \$4 per month, this law would give \$12 per month to "bounty-jumpers and drafted men, whether they ever smelled gunpowder in the service or not." The arrant demagogism which is behind the scheme clearly appears in the claim that "the surplus in the Treasury can be best restored to the people in the manner proposed in the bill." As for the charge that protests against it "only come from money centres," the best answer is the remarkable series of letters to the President from Union veterans, many of them wounded and crippled men, who are strong Republicans in politics, thanking him for his veto. A more striking evidence of the real feeling among self-respecting soldiers could not be imagined than these voluntary communications to the President, extorted from political opponents by admiration of his moral courage in vetoing this gigantic job of the claim agents.

A few Bourbon Republican papers, which still cling to the bloody shirt, criticise the President for having signed a Mexican War pension bill under which "rebels" may draw pensions. But the real objects of criticism are the Republicans in Congress who sent the President such a measure with their all but unanimous endorsement. The bill which the President signed went through the lower branch precisely as it came from the Republican Senate, and the vote of the Republican Representatives on its passage was 105 yeas against but 2 nays. Congressman Grosvenor of Ohio is now quoted as estimating that "at least three-fourths of the beneficiaries under the Mexican Pension Bill will be persons who were actively disloyal during the war"; but, upon consulting the list of yeas and nays, we find among the yeas the name of Grosvenor. Nor can he plead that he voted in ignorance, for during the brief debate on the passage of the bill the fact that "rebels" might draw pensions under it was distinctly brought out. If anybody is to be blamed by Republican organs because ex-Confederates may now get on the pension rolls, it is Grosvenor and the 104 other Republican Representa-

tives who voted without protest for a bill placing them upon it.

The Senate having passed the Trade-Dollar Bill with the House amendment, which provides that the trade dollars shall *not* be counted as part of the monthly purchase and coinage under the Bland Act, but shall be additional thereto, we earnestly hope that the President will veto it, and that he will not be deterred from doing so by any consideration of the chance of its being passed over a veto. We have seen how great an influence in an educational point of view the veto of the Pauper Pension Bill has proved to be. The Trade-Dollar Bill, in any aspect, is in the nature of a gratuity from the Treasury to a lot of speculators (or their successors) who bought these coins in China at various rates of discount, averaging, perhaps, 85 cents to the dollar, and brought them back to this country to be passed off, or sold to the Government, at 100 cents. The trade dollar was never a legal tender, except for small sums, in the same way that halves and quarters and dimes are now. This limited legal-tender quality was given to it by inadvertence in the coinage act of 1873. The mistake was not noticed until 1876. It was then corrected, and the trade dollar became what it was intended originally to be, viz., a mere ingot manufactured for the Chinese market, designed to promote the sale of silver in a foreign country, having no legal-tender character whatever. Strict justice would require that all trade dollars coined prior to July 22, 1876, should continue to be legal tender for sums under \$5. All such trade dollars would gradually work their way to the Treasury and would be redeemed according to the terms of their coinage. The mistake of putting them in the same category as the halves and quarters—a sufficiently costly one—would thus be paid for, and justice would be satisfied. Anything beyond this is a sheer gratuity and donation, in comparison with which the Texas Seed Bill, for example, is the merest trifle. The latter proposed to give certain poor people—much poorer and more deserving than the holders of the trade dollars—the sum of \$10,000 to buy seed for their spring sowing. Ten thousand dollars is a definite sum of money, and an inconsiderable one for a Government like ours. But the bill was vetoed upon the sound constitutional and moral ground that the Government is not a charitable institution, and the veto was sustained.

The Trade-Dollar Bill calls for an indefinite sum and a very large sum. The *Financial Chronicle*, an excellent authority, estimates the number of trade dollars that will be brought in under the bill at upwards of \$20,000,000, the total coinage having been nearly \$36,000,000. But it remains to speak of the character imparted to the measure by the House amendment, which provides that the trade dollars shall be coined into standard silver dollars or subsidi-

any coin, and shall not be counted as part of the two millions per month coined under the Bland Act. This feature of the bill is virtually a new Bland Act, with the difference that it requires the bullion to be bought at 23 per cent. above its market value, and that it is limited in its operation to the amount of trade dollars that can be scraped together within six months. Every argument based upon the principles of sound finance which the President so happily expressed in his letter of February, 1885, to Gen. Warner, and which Secretary Manning has so often repeated, applies to this bill. If it would be a violation of those principles to pass a bill increasing the coinage under the Bland Act, which provides for the purchase of silver at its market value, it is a more flagrant violation of the same principles to pass a bill with that end in view which provides for the purchase of bullion at a premium of 23 per cent. It may be said that the Treasury is not required to coin this bullion into standard silver dollars, but may convert it into subsidiary coin. The answer to this is, that the Treasury already has a surplus of some thirty millions of subsidiary coin which it is carrying as dead capital. To add twenty millions more, or any other sum, would be as wasteful as to spend that sum in building old line-of-battle ships for the navy.

District-Attorney Martine, in giving his opinion to the State Senate touching the authority of Pinkerton's Men to carry arms, made the following extraordinary statement respecting the recent labor troubles: "A numerous class of our people are now engaged in the movement to better their condition. It does not appear that they have gone beyond lawful efforts. If they do, the police and military are sufficient to restrain them, and they should not be placed at mercy of the armed men in private employ." Now, if Mr. Martine knows enough about the matter to say anything whatever about it, he knows that every large strike of the past year has been accompanied with atrocious violence, that in every one of them the strikers have attempted by force of arms to prevent peaceable men from taking their places, and to damage the property of their late employers. He knows that in not one spot in the Union where these troubles have occurred, have the police and military been sufficient to restrain them except in this city, the police force of which is extraordinarily good. But can we blame the laborers, when their passions are inflamed and their delusions fostered and their lawlessness stimulated by such perversions as this, coming from the sworn minister of the law? Pinkerton's Men are a national disgrace, but the disgrace comes through the misconduct of mayors, sheriffs, district attorneys, and governors who fail or refuse to do their duty in protecting life and property. Until they are taught to behave themselves properly in word and deed, people will not surrender their arms so as to enable the Quinns and "Putnams" to have their way.

There is a programme for military and naval expenditures at Washington which foots up \$98,000,000. The first measure in this attractive catalogue is the Hawley bill, providing for

coast defences. The second is the Cameron bill for cruisers. The third is the Hale bill for ironclads. All these measures have passed the Senate. The fourth is the Stanford bill, the fifth the Dolph bill or amendment. The complete list was published in the Philadelphia *Press* the other day, with some valuable comments from its Washington correspondent, on the "defence craze" which is running away with the Treasury surplus. It is to be said, however, that the \$98,000,000, if appropriated, is to be spent in yearly instalments of about \$20,000,000 per year, and not all at once. The fate of these bills in the House is extremely doubtful. Mr. Randall is determined to defeat the Hawley \$20,000,000 bill if he can, and the probability is that he will succeed. He entertains the belief that there is an immense job concealed in that measure, while others believe that there is a smaller but equally pernicious one lurking in his own \$10,000,000 bill. Charges and counter-charges are hurled back and forth with great freedom, but nobody has ventured to impeach the personal motives of either Gen. Hawley or Mr. Randall. It is quite certain, however, that public confidence in the bona-fides of both measures has been impaired, and that the "defence craze" has somewhat abated in consequence.

The chief point in dispute between the advocates of the Hawley bill and those of the Randall measure relates to the mode of going to work, the former contending for Government gun factories and the latter for private establishments. Leaving out the element of jobbery as a matter altogether of surmise, and at the present stage unprovable, and looking at the results achieved abroad, there is much to be said in favor of private enterprise. The establishments of Krupp in Prussia and of Armstrong and Whitworth in England have been so remarkably successful that if any one of these existed in the United States, it would hardly be deemed necessary for the Government to build foundries of its own. But there being no such works here, it is a matter for fair debate whether the Government should take the rôle of a manufacturer, or should invite capitalists and inventors by offering to buy their products in certain quantities according to specifications fixed by the Ordnance Bureau. That the plant should be created in this country is an absolute necessity, if we are to have fortifications at all, but that fact does not estop us from buying guns for immediate use from Mr. Krupp or anybody else who may have the right thing for sale. We suppose that it would not be possible to create works equal to those at Essen in a shorter time than ten years with all the money in the Treasury, although very respectable guns might be produced within five or six years. The "friends of American industry," however, would be shocked at the thought of buying a gun or a ship of foreign make, even if an enemy were in full sail against our shores.

The House of Representatives some time since passed a bill to provide for an additional Judge of the United States Circuit Court for

this district. The President had recommended such a measure in his annual message, and the bill passed without objection, except from some Western critics, who said that there were other districts which needed more judges too. However true this may be, it is certainly no argument against relieving the Southern District of New York at once. The bill, however, has gone to the Senate, and what has become of it there no one seems to know. In the Judiciary Committee the natural course would be to refer such a measure to Mr. Evarts, who would no doubt be glad to have it put in his power to do something to promote the more efficient administration of justice in his own State; but if it has been referred to him, what has he done with it? There is no dispute about the necessity of an additional Federal judge. This is the great centre of the judicial business of the whole country, and the judges cannot possibly get through with their work. A year ago, as appeared from an official statement furnished to the House by Secretary Manning, there were pending here 2,201 separate revenue cases, going back as far as 1867, and involving \$11,519,268. Every one knows that a great number of revenue cases are decided against the Government, and it has been estimated that the interest account running on the claims which will probably be decided in favor of the plaintiffs is \$150,000 a year. In other words, we waste every year *an amount sufficient to pay the salaries of twenty-five judges at their present rate of compensation*, without getting the work done. Under these circumstances, there should be no doubt about the passing of this bill at the present session. Indeed, if reported back from the Committee, it is certain to be passed. If it is really in Mr. Evarts's hands, he knows all about the condition of business in the Federal courts, and therefore argument would be thrown away upon him. If it has not been referred to him, we trust that he will make a search for it at once, in order that it may be passed before the session ends.

The report of the State Charities Aid Association on the Postal Savings Bank Bill now pending in Congress indicates that no action can be expected upon it during the present session. The gratifying statement is made that a majority of the members of the Post office Committee of the House were favorable to the bill. The rapid extinction of the public debt has lessened the means for investing the deposits which might be expected if the bill should become a law, but its usefulness as a place of safe keeping of the funds of the poorer classes, in districts not provided with savings banks, is in no wise diminished. Any man who has a thousand dollars in gold or silver coin can take it to the Treasury and get certificates of deposit for it, and the coin will be returned to him on the demand of himself or the holder of the certificates. Why should not the man who has one dollar or less have the like privilege? It is said that the result would be a locking up of money in the Treasury. This apprehension is much exaggerated, but in the worst aspect of the case it

may properly be asked, Whose money is it that is to be locked up? If every would-be savings depositor had a perfectly secure chimney crevice, or inaccessible coffee-pot or hole in the ground, where he could put his money with absolute assurance of finding it again, who would have the right to object to his putting his money there? Who objects to the withdrawal of gold and silver coin from circulation for conversion into jewelry, plate, watch cases, tooth fillings, gilding, chemicals, etc.? It is only necessary to state this objection in order to show its absurdity. Well-founded objections exist to the collection of money by taxation to be locked up in the Treasury. But the taking of money from the people by force in order to lock it up is widely different from leaving them free to lock it up if they want to, either in their pockets, or in old stockings, or in safe-deposit vaults, or in the public Treasury. The amount of money that will be left unused at any time, if any profitable use can be made of it, is too small to constitute a valid objection to the Postal Savings Bill.

All reports from Albany indicate a depressed feeling among the advocates of needed reform measures. The promoters of the Constitutional Convention bills say they have small hopes of any action, simply because the petty partisanship of both parties is so rampant that an impartial and wise plan for a convention finds few supporters. It is even said that the Field Code has a better chance this year than it has ever had before, simply because the tendency is to favor everything that is bad. Gen. Husted, we are told, is going about saying: "We shall pass the code this year. The American Bar Association has approved it, you know, and that will have great weight." Of course the American Bar Association has not approved it, and Gen. Husted is unusually ignorant if he does not know it. The Association distinctly refused to approve it. What it did was to say that a well-made code would be a good thing to have, which is a vastly different thing from approving the Field Code. We are not prepared to believe that the Legislature is going to pass Mr. Field's absurd measure, but what a commentary we are given once more upon the character of our legislators: they are openly opposed to the most necessary and desirable measures, and with great difficulty restrained from passing the worst.

The trick by which Speaker Husted pushed the Woman Suffrage Bill to a third reading on Friday was in all respects worthy of that statesman's recent career. In passing judgment on this performance, it does not make any difference whether the bill is a good or a bad one. It is, at any rate, a bill needing debate, which many members wished to debate, and the consequences of which, whether good or bad, are sure to be very serious. No human being can tell, for instance, what its effect will be on the government of this city. It will probably strengthen the hands of the enemies of the liquor interest; but what

effect will it have on the enforcement of the law against the violence and disorders of "labor," on the school question, on taxation, and on the quality of elected officials? Nobody knows, and the Albany legislators do not care.

The speeches and resolutions of the liquor-dealers' mass-meeting in Steinway Hall on Wednesday week would make a first-rate campaign document in favor of the High-License Bill. When the men who control the 8,000 or more out-and-out liquor saloons in this city meet and declare "that, in the interest of public morality, we protest against the High-License Bill, and call the attention of the Legislature to the centralization and undemocratic tendencies of the measure," they furnish the best possible evidence that the bill is in the interest of public morals and good government. What the liquor-dealers do not want is precisely the measure which the good of society demands. A great deal of energy was expended in predicting that a \$1,000 license on liquors would lead to illicit and secret selling so long as the price of a beer license was only \$100. If this should prove to be the case, a remedy could easily be found by raising the rate for all licenses to \$1,000. The reform that is sought now is the reduction in the number of saloons which sell alcoholic liquors. There are 7,773 of these which are licensed, against only 811 licensed beer saloons. The liquor-dealers show by their loud protests that they are afraid of the \$1,000 license plan, and are by no means so confident of the easy violation of such a law as they pretend. If they were confident that by taking a \$100 license they could go on selling all kinds of liquors with small chance of detection, why this uproar? Do they expect the public to believe that the average liquor-dealer is such a high-minded, public-spirited citizen that he would not avail himself of this chance to cheat the city out of \$900 a year?

The last report of the Registrar-General in England appears to overthrow the long-accepted theory that the marriage rate varies inversely with the price of food. For a number of years the price of food, and indeed of almost every article which wages buy, has been falling, while wages, if not maintained at the old level, have not fallen proportionately. In other words, these years have been years of more than usual prosperity for the working classes, and, according to the old theory, they should have been also years in which marriages were more than usually numerous. Instead of this, however, the marriage rate has fallen from something more than 17 to every 1,000 of the population in 1873, to something more than 14 to every 1,000 in 1885. The only explanation possible appears to be that the masses are learning the lesson of greater forethought in contracting marriage as they become better off. The difference in this respect between them and the well-to-do classes is still great, as is shown by the fact that the miners and those employed in textile factories, who have no private means and but a precarious prospect of employment, marry at twenty-three, while the professional class, who very commonly have some private

means, and certainly some prospect of making an income, do not marry till thirty. But the steady diminution of the marriage rate in the whole population would seem to prove that the poor are making some progress in prudence.

There is one exception to the rule as to the exercise of prudence in contracting marriage among the professional class. Barristers, and doctors, and merchants in England do not, as a rule, take wives until they have something on which to support a family, and the public opinion of the professional class discourages the marriage of a man who is without means or prospects. But this principle does not hold as to the clergy. It is still true, the *Spectator* says, that they marry early and recklessly, with the consequence that the Church is discredited by their poverty and by the appeals that are constantly being made to relieve it. The *Spectator* attributes this course of the clergy to a false public opinion among the laity, the sense of the evils of a celibate clergy being so strong that the most hopelessly imprudent marriage is somehow thought to be justified if the offender is a clergyman. The theory expressed in the saying that "a parson is not half a parson till he is married," thus leads public teachers to set the working classes an example of improvidence and imprudence. Dean Stanley is credited with having said that what was wanted in the Church of England was a close time for curates, and the *Spectator* thinks that "if public opinion steadily discouraged clerical marriage until a man had a living—unless, indeed, he had private means equivalent to a living—it would do a service to the working class as well as to the Church."

The advantages possessed by Bismarck in the German elections which took place on Monday can hardly be appreciated, except in Germany. The belief prevailed there that he held war and peace in his hands, and that if he carried the majority of the Reichstag, there would be no war, while, if his opponents were successful, he would adopt a course towards France which would result in war. Upon the occurrence of war, however occasioned, hundreds of thousands of young men in all the walks of life, high and low, rich and poor, must abandon their business, drop their tools, take their places in the ranks, and expose their lives and limbs to the enemy's cannon. For example, there is a bank in Berlin having some five hundred clerks. Upon the outbreak of a war, one hundred and eighty-eight of these young men must drop their pens, shoulder arms, and march to the frontier. Such a draft upon its working force immediately disorganizes the institution, and the same effect is produced in every large business establishment. The fears of the young men, their friends and relatives, and of the proprietors of large business concerns, constitute a political bias in favor of the Government, of enormous strength. To whatever extent it is believed that Bismarck can control the storm, is his influence on the minds of voters augmented. It is a grave peril that menaces Germany when she is asked to surrender constitutional government on pain of a desolating foreign war.

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, February 16, to THURSDAY, February 22, 1887, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC

ON Wednesday, the 16th, the President vetoed the bill "to enable the Commissioner of Agriculture to make a special distribution of seeds in the drought-stricken counties of Texas," which provided for an appropriation of \$10,000 for this purpose. "I can find no warrant for such an appropriation in the Constitution," the President wrote in his message, "and I do not believe that the power and duty of the General Government ought to be extended to the relief of individual suffering which is in no manner properly related to the public service or benefit. A prevalent tendency to disregard the limited mission of this power and duty should, I think, be steadfastly resisted, to the end that the lesson should be constantly enforced that, though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people."

The President, before he returned the Dependent Pension Bill to Congress, received a large number of letters requesting him to veto it; and after he vetoed it he received a large number of congratulatory letters, many of them from prominent veterans of the war.

By a ruling of the Speaker of the House of Representatives against a motion to permit the immediate consideration of the Blair Educational Bill, it has been made impossible for that measure to be considered in the House before the Forty-ninth Congress adjourns.

Both houses of Congress on Saturday passed the Trade-Dollar Bill. It provides that for six months these dollars shall be redeemed at their face value by the United States Treasurer or Assistant Treasurers, and be recoined into standard dollars; but "that the trade dollars recoined under this act shall not be counted as part of the silver bullion required to be purchased and coined into standard dollars as required by the act of February 28, 1878."

The Senate on Monday passed the House River and Harbor Bill with amendments, and the bill is now in the hands of a committee of conference. The House Committee on Military Affairs has reported a bill appropriating \$5,000,000 for coast defences.

The Senate has adopted the conference report on the Anti-Polygamy Bill. The bill repeals the charter of the Mormon Church, and instructs the Attorney-General to institute proceedings to recover property not acquired by that corporation in accord with the laws of the United States. It has gone to the President. The prediction is made that, if it becomes a law, it will give the death-blow to polygamy and to the Mormon hierarchy.

The Senate has passed three bills for the better equipment of the navy and for coast defences. One appropriates \$8,000,000 for the purchase of steel for ordnance and for armor, and for the erection of an army-gun factory at West Troy, N. Y., and \$5,000,000 for the construction of fortifications, making a total of \$13,000,000. The second bill (Mr. Cameron's) sets apart \$15,000,000 for the construction of ten protected steel cruisers, \$2,000,000 for the payment of bonuses for speed beyond the contract requirements, and \$4,800,000 for the armament of the vessels, a total of \$21,800,000. The last (Mr. Hale's bill) appropriates \$15,000,000 for the construction of heavily-armored vessels, or armored floating batteries, or rams, to be used for coast and harbor defences, for torpedo boats and the like. The total appropriations which will be made if these four bills pass the House and are approved, will be more than \$58,000,000.

The Tehuantepec Ship Railway Bill, so amended that the United States shall not guarantee the interest on a part of the share capital, passed the Senate on Thursday by a vote of forty-six to seven.

The House Committee on Invalid Pensions has made a unanimous report favoring the passage of the Dependent Pension Bill over the President's veto.

The members of the Congressional Conference Committee on the Inter-State Commerce Law are agreed that the law forbids the issue of a railroad pass to any person. It was at first thought that passes could lawfully be issued to preachers by the roads to which the law applies.

A petition has been presented to the Legislature of Texas protesting against the investigation by the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections of the conduct of the election last fall in Washington County.

In the New Jersey Assembly the Democratic contestants for disputed seats have been seated, and many fruitless ballots have been taken in the effort to elect a United States Senator.

The long contest in the West Virginia Legislature to elect a United States Senator is not yet ended.

The Legislature of Nevada has passed, with only three opposing votes, a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment the adoption of which will disfranchise all members of the Mormon Church in that State.

The Judicial Committee in the Senate of Pennsylvania has reported favorably on a bill making two-thirds of the jury sufficient to acquit or convict in criminal cases.

A bill has been introduced in the Legislature of New York providing for the erection of a monument on the battle-field of Gettysburg to each of the regiments and batteries from the State which took place in that battle, the cost of each to be not more than \$500.

The Brooklyn Civil-Service Reform Association held its annual meeting Thursday evening, when a statement was made by a special committee that a "serious irregularity" had been discovered in one of the examinations conducted by the municipal Civil-Service Commissioners. The report also showed that Mayor Whitney had created seventeen new positions exempted from examination, for some of which examination seemed to be practicable and desirable.

The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor have sent a petition to both branches of the Legislature and to the Governor, for the enactment of a high-license law, and vigorous efforts have been made by other organizations and by many prominent individuals to cause the passage of the bill that has been introduced.

Fully 4,000 men who engaged in the great strike in New York and the adjacent cities were left idle last week after the strike was declared ended, and many of them are not likely to find work for a month or more to come. No provision has been made for their support by District Assembly 49 of the Knights of Labor, and they must shift for themselves.

The strike of the street-car drivers in Boston and its suburbs continues. In Cambridge three cars were stoned on Sunday. The police discovered a large collection of bricks, paving-stones, and other missiles on the roof of a house on one route which were intended for violent use if the cars were run at night.

The full returns of the election of Mayor of Philadelphia on the 15th are: Fitler (Rep.) 90,497, Keim (Dem.) 62,204, Philips (Labor) 1,664.

The resignation of the Hon. E. R. Hoar as President of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University has been accepted, and a committee has been appointed to nominate his successor.

The Canada Pacific Railroad west of Winnipeg is blocked with snow, and trains may not be able to run regularly before May 1. A number of engines have been abandoned.

Trains have been abandoned also in Dakota on account of the snow. On Thursday there was such a severe storm in Colorado that a number of trains were blown from the tracks. Parts of Chicago were inundated, and people were obliged to leave their houses. Ice gorges in Michigan have caused destructive overflows. The continued cold weather in many places in the far West has made a serious fuel famine.

One wire, extending in a circuitous route from Chicago by way of Deming, N. M., and Los Angeles to San Francisco, was the only medium of telegraphic communication on Friday night between the cities of the East and the entire country west of the Rocky Mountains. The series of storms between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, lasting three weeks, has been without a precedent since the telegraph company's lines west of Chicago reached the dignity of a system.

The lowest estimate of the loss of cattle in Montana this season is 25 per cent., and many cattle men say that 40 to 50 per cent. have perished. One owner has lost 10,000 out of a herd of 25,000.

The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Company has equipped two passenger trains between Chicago and Milwaukee with apparatus for heating by steam from locomotives. The experiment has so far proved successful, but it has not yet had the test of severe weather. The company is also building an iron heating car to carry a boiler for generating steam for heating the train and to run next the engine. This is the first experiment made on any long line of railroad to dispense with stoves in passenger cars. Bills have this week been introduced in several State Legislatures to prohibit the use of stoves.

Gen. Robert B. Potter died at his residence in Newport on February 19. Having made a brilliant military record during the war, at its close he was assigned to the military command of Rhode Island and Connecticut, with headquarters in Newport, where he was a great favorite in military and social circles.

FOREIGN.

The most important event on the Continent during the week was the German election on Monday. During the political campaign the excitement became every day more intense. The Emperor sent an autograph letter in support of the candidature of the Prince of Hohen-zollern against a Triennate opponent. The *North German Gazette*, Prince Bismarck's organ, declared that the Reichstag would again be dissolved if the Government did not secure a majority at the elections. All the Government administrators of the districts promulgated formal instructions to their subordinates, in which they attacked the Liberals very freely. The Liberal leader, Richter, answered them in an open letter, to show the absurdity of their statement that those who voted against the Septennate were enemies of the Emperor and of the Empire. The authorities forcibly stopped a New Liberal meeting at Berlin on Sunday, just as Herr Richter was about to speak. The audience of several thousand persons afterward marched through the streets cheering for Richter, and many arrests were made.

The election on Monday resulted in the return of a majority for the Government. But in Alsace-Lorraine the Septennate candidates were defeated, and this is considered an ill-augury of peace, and as likely to lead to the adoption of severe measures in those provinces. Herr Windthorst was reflected. The total Socialist vote shows an increase of 500,000. It is reported in official circles that the Emperor will summon the Reichstag to meet, without waiting for the supplementary elections to be held, as soon as verified returns show the election of a sufficient number of Deputies to constitute a quorum. The supplementary elections will be held on March 3.

On the Emperor of Germany's birthday, March 22, his youngest great-grandson will be

christened, and the betrothal of Prince Henry of Prussia to Princess Irene of Hesse will be proclaimed.

Several workmen's unions and Socialist societies at Pesh started a fund to assist German candidates who opposed the Imperial Government in the recent election. When Premier Tisza heard of the movement he forbade it, saying that Hungary was too intimately connected with Germany to sanction such opposition to the German Government.

The Emperor of Austria has held two councils of war. Twenty thousand applications have been received for officers' commissions in the Hungarian Landsturm. Rich women are seeking positions in the ambulance service. The Budget Committee of the Reichsrath, by a unanimous vote, have agreed to the credit of 12,000,000 florins for the equipment of the Landwehr and the Landsturm.

The relations between Austria and Russia are reported to be so much improved that it is no longer expected that Austria would make a Russian occupation of Bulgaria a *casus belli*.

The Franco-German situation is again declared by all the Continental correspondents to be one of great tension. "I fear," says the Paris correspondent of the *London Standard*, "that the sanguine mood prevailing just now is destined to be somewhat roughly dispelled at a not very distant time, when the country will be brought face to face with very unpleasant realities on the Franco-German frontier. Generally great excitement is said to prevail, and preparations of all kinds are being advanced rapidly, the population being almost in a panic."

There was a riot at Saarburg, Lorraine, on the 18th. A crowd of youths paraded the streets singing the "Marseillaise," and a conflict arose, in which a police constable was killed. Many inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine have applied to the Austrian Government for citizenship, in the hope to escape military duty in the event of war. The German authorities have arrested in Mühlhausen several persons suspected of being connected with the French Patriotic League. Work on the fortifications at Verdun has continued night and day. All commerce has been suspended at Metz, except in food. The inhabitants are storing their houses from cellar to garret.

Despatches from St. Petersburg say that in Russian Government circles the conviction is gaining ground that war between France and Germany is inevitable. As a fresh defeat of France might involve disastrous results to Russia, the Czar's Government will, it is said, in the event of war, preserve entire liberty of action. It will not support France as an ally, but may, by a firm, reserved attitude, prevent Germany from sending the whole of her army west of the Rhine, and, even if France should be defeated, attenuate as much as possible the effects of the disaster. For these reasons, it is declared, Russia will await the outcome of the different phases of the Bulgarian crisis with the greatest calmness; and it is supposed that this intention on the part of Russia explains the dallying in the negotiations for the settlement of the Bulgarian question now being carried on at Constantinople. The *Journal de St.-Petersbourg* directly denies that Russia has impeded the settlement of the Bulgarian difficulty, and says: "The British Blue Book shows who is responsible for the original disturbance in Bulgaria. The English press should seek the cause elsewhere than in Russia."

An extensive plot has been discovered at Odessa for a Polish uprising in the event of a Russo-Austrian or Russo-German war. Many imperial officers and officials are implicated. Twenty persons have been arrested.

Saturday, the 19th, being the seventieth anniversary of the birth of King William of Holland, the people made it a holiday. The people of The Hague presented his Majesty with a casket, an address, and a Bible,

Dr. E. Schmit von Taverna, counsellor of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy at Berlin, has been appointed Austrian Minister at Washington in the place of Baron von Schaeffer, who has for some time been absent on leave.

King Humbert has issued an order to his army, in which he says that the Italian troops who displayed such gallantry and steadiness in the recent battles with the Abyssinians shed honor upon the Italian Army, and that their bravery will be imperishable in Italy's military history.

Signor Depretis has submitted the following Cabinet list to the King of Italy: Count di Robilant, Foreign Affairs; Signor Saracco, Interior; Signor Magliani, Finance; Signor Viale, War; Signor Brin, Marine; Signor Grimaldi, Public Works.

Archbishop Walsh of Dublin has subscribed \$50 to the defence fund in behalf of Messrs. Dillon, O'Brien, Redmond, Crilly, and others.

The jury which sits on the case of Mr. Dillon and his associates at Dublin is made up of eight Protestants, one Quaker, and three Roman Catholics. It is expected that the jury will disagree, and the failure to convict the campaigners, it is thought, will be used by the Government as proof of the necessity for a coercion act.

Great excitement was caused in the House of Commons on Thursday evening, when Mr. Parnell's motion not to consider the rules of procedure before the Government should have disclosed its proposed legislation for Ireland was rejected by a vote of 242 against 107. Mr. Dillon, one of the defendants in the trial of the traversers at Dublin, made complaint of the jury panel, and the Speaker ruled him out of order because a previous motion had been made on the same subject. There were other attempts to continue the debate on the address in reply to the Queen's speech, but the address was adopted by a vote of 283 to 70. The situation developed by the Speaker's ruling is extremely serious, for it opens the way for the Government, whenever it anticipates an unpleasant discussion, to block it, by having a motion filed for debate on the same subject at some distant time.

Resolutions have been adopted at several popular meetings in Ireland protesting against the ruling of the Speaker of the House of Commons under which Mr. Dillon was not allowed to speak of jury packing.

Maj. Edward James Sanderson (Conservative), member of Parliament for North Armagh, has published a letter in which he declares that, if home rule be granted to Ireland, the Loyalists of that country have ample assurances from England that they will not have to battle alone against the Irish Cabinet.

The British Government has ordered the mounting and manning of artillery at all the forts on the Shannon, some of which have not been occupied for years.

A conference of the leaders of the Conservative party was held on Monday, at which Lord Salisbury expressed the hope that the Government would be able, by reforming the rules of procedure, to restore to the House of Commons its capacity for work and its reputation for courtesy, "after which," he added, "we shall be able to deal with the question of local government in Ireland and with other measures. In any case, all bills will be postponed until after the conclusion of the proceedings for reform of the procedure rules and action on the estimates. The Government expects to present the budget during the first week in April." The Prime Minister predicted a long lease of office for the Conservatives. On the same day Sir William Vernon Harcourt said that the Round Table conferees were still laboring to reunite the Liberal party on a basis which should contain no deviation from Mr. Gladstone's fundamental principles respecting the Irish question; and the Liberal victory at

Burnley was received with great delight by the Liberals, which they interpreted as foreshadowing the doom of the Unionists everywhere.

Mr. Gladstone, addressing a crowd at a railway station in Wales on Saturday, urged that the Welsh demand a settlement of the Irish question in order to secure attention for their own local concerns.

While the Recorder of Galway was giving a dinner party at his residence in Kildysart, at which two magistrates were guests, the police found on one of the window sills a box of dynamite with a burning fuse attached. The fuse was quenched just in time to prevent an explosion.

On Feb. 16 and the two following days, in all the chief cities of India impressive ceremonies were held in commemoration of the Queen's jubilee. In the Christian churches and in the native temples and mosques there were thanksgiving services. As many as 25,000 prisoners who had been incarcerated for debt or for offences against the civil or military law, were set free.

Mr. W. H. Smith said in the House of Commons, in answer to an inquiry, that it was not intended to release Irish or other convicts on the occasion of the Queen's jubilee. The release of prisoners in India in commemoration of the jubilee had been ordered by the Government in accordance with an Oriental custom. The order did not apply to Great Britain.

It is reported that the Queen will, during her jubilee year, establish an order of decoration, specially intended for the recognition of literary, artistic, and journalistic merit.

In the House of Commons Mr. Labouchere moved to censure the Government for its Bulgarian policy. The motion was negatived without a division.

The *London Times* advises that no time be lost in effecting a settlement of the fisheries dispute between the United States and Canada before the fishing season opens.

Bishop Keane of Richmond, Va., congratulated the Pope in the Vatican on Sunday upon the ninth anniversary of his pontificate. The Pope, in his discourse, described the Baltimore Council as an honor to America and to the whole Church.

Negotiations between Spain and the United States for a new commercial treaty have been suspended by Spain until the American Congress shall have taken action with regard to the tobacco and sugar duties.

The lottery loan which the Congo Free State proposes to issue in Belgium will be divided into shares of 125 francs each, bearing interest at 5 per cent. The amount of the loan will be 150,000,000 francs.

Henry M. Stanley has arrived at Zanzibar on his way to rescue Emin Pasha.

Advices were received at San Francisco on Sunday of an eruption of the Hawaiian volcano Mauna Loa. The eruption began on January 16, when a column of fire shot up from the south crater. Two days later the whole district around the volcano was shaken by an almost constant succession of heavy earthquake shocks. Nothing was seen of lava until January 18, as it found an underground passage. On that day, however, it broke into view, and three great rivers of it took their course to the sea. One stream reached the ocean in two days, and the others were reported as not far behind in their course. Great destruction of property was caused, but no loss of life. Later advices are that the eruption had ceased on February 8, and that earthquake shocks were felt until January 26.

Sixty lives were lost by the recent floods at Brisbane, Queensland. The damage to property was very great.

Members of the Dominion Parliament were elected on Tuesday, and a small Conservative majority was returned.

THE NEXT PARTY ISSUE.

WE cannot help thinking that the very recklessness with which Congress is trying to get rid of the surplus and prevent the reduction of taxation, combined with the demands of "Labor" on both the Federal and State Governments, is likely before long to make the question of the proper limits of the province of Government a party issue in a larger and more serious sense than it ever has been before. It divided the Whigs and the Democrats, it is true, in the early part of the century, but the wildest claims made by the Whigs for Government interference were trifles compared to the demands made on the State by the advocates of the paternal system to-day. The latter have got far beyond the aid to infant industries with which their fathers would have been content. Temporary aid from the Treasury for infant industries has grown into permanent aid to an unlimited extent to all industries, young or old, feeble or prosperous. The demand for popular education, to fit young Americans for the battle of life and the practice of the elementary virtues, is rapidly growing into a demand that the Government shall see to it that there is no battle of life, but that every poor man is taken care of and delivered from all temptation, from the cradle to the grave. In fact, we are, as President Cleveland pointed out in his veto of the Texas Seed Bill, almost brought face to face with the question whether the people shall support the Government, or the Government support the people.

The country is being ravaged in every direction by that extraordinary modern delusion that there is somewhere, in every country, an immense reservoir of the good things of this life, of which the great capitalists keep the key, but which Government, if it pleased, might throw open to the people. There is no such reservoir or store. There is no fact better ascertained than that if we were all to stop working and saving, in three years we should be a mob of ragged paupers, dying of cold and hunger in dilapidated buildings. Mankind cannot lay up great stores of either food or clothing. When the race is doing its best, with all the machinery at its command, it can only get two or three years ahead of its wants. Nature follows it up with the whip of necessity, and lashes it into ceaseless industry.

This great and chief hallucination contains or tends to another—that there is somewhere a depot of great administrators, from which the Government can draw all the officers it would need, to enable it to take care of all its citizens in health and disease, provide them with light work at good wages, and see that their homes are healthy, and that their vices or follies do not interfere with their success in life. All the schemes for making the Government "support the people" assume the existence of an indefinite number of candidates for office such as one never sees in office in our day, and such as all the corporations in the land search for vainly with the offer of enormous salaries.

Congress seems to have laid aside all scruple about nourishing these delusions. Almost all its legislation on social or economical questions during the last ten or fifteen years has tended

to foster the belief that the good time coming in America was to be a time when everybody would be taken care of by somebody else, and when finally we should all draw subsistence and even luxuries from Government stores, produced by machinery worked by Government officers, and distributed, together with a reasonable amount of paper pocket money, to all who said that work tired them. This tendency cannot go much further without furnishing a very burning question to politics—such a one as has not been presented to the country since the abolition of slavery. The tariff was pretty sure to breed such an issue sooner or later, but its appearance is being greatly hastened by the "labor problem." Voters will, before very long, be called on to settle more clearly and definitely than ever the exact amount of work which the Government is to do for the private citizen in this country, and to remind people in some emphatic way that the Government is itself nothing more than a collection of plain men, like the rest of us, temporarily put in charge of a public subscription towards the general expenses, called the taxes. The extraordinary craze, too, which many politicians are encouraging, that people who save are public enemies, to be abused and abandoned to the fury of mobs, and compelled to support or take care of those who will not save, must be stamped out. It will be stamped out vigorously whenever it is submitted to the popular vote, and it looks now as if it would be submitted very soon—that is, as if the people who want the Government to support them would be emboldened to take the field as a political organization.

A GREAT CHANCE FOR LABOR REFORMERS.

WE would respectfully remind all persons among us who have, during the past year or two, been interesting themselves in the condition of the laboring poor in this city, and especially those persons of intelligence and education who tried to make Henry George Mayor of New York as a general protest against the abuses of our municipal government, and all who see in the recent disturbances between employer and employed a demand for some radical change in the relations of these two classes—we would remind all these that there is now a chance for them, no matter what kind of reform they aim at, to make a good beginning in their work. The High-License Bill now before the Legislature will be, if it passes, the first step in any proposed solution of the labor problem, no matter what that proposed solution may be. No matter what plan of social regeneration a man may have, he must admit that the greatest of the evils from which the laboring poor now suffer is intemperance. Granting that all the charges made on behalf of the laborer against the capitalists and the monopolists are true; granting that all the stories told about legislative discrimination against labor are well-founded; granting that the rich are as heartless and indifferent as the poor say they are; granting that the present social organization is as unjust as Anarchists say it is, the fact remains that improvement in the laborer's condition is impossible without cutting down his drink

bills. No social arrangement which man can make can benefit people who get drunk. No matter what wages you pay a drinking man, neither his condition nor that of his family can be improved thereby. There is no use in providing extra holidays for men who use them to get drunk. There is no use in cutting down the day's labor from ten to eight hours, if the two hours gained are spent in a rum-hole. There would be no use in making arbitration compulsory, if one of the parties was likely to be kept from obeying the decision by liquor. There would be no use in handing over all the property in the world to laboring men, if they drank as much as they do now. They would soon dissipate it, and add nothing to the store.

So also in this city there is not the smallest use in reforming the charter as long as liquor-dealers remain a power in politics. It is they who prevent the execution of the laws, who fill the courts and jails with criminals, who thrust corrupt men into high places, who are at the bottom of all the shameful "deals" and bargains which make so many good men despair of our Government. We owe to them more than to any one agency the filth of the streets and the wretchedness of our tenement-houses. The ignorance and folly which put thousands of poor men into the hands of the rapacious scoundrels who organize the strikes, are their doings. The violence and disorder by which every strike is accompanied, are their work also. Every group of strikers watching non-union laborers with murder in their hearts and eyes have a liquor store behind them, and are half full of bad rum, brandy, whiskey, or gin. It was the liquor-dealers who supplied the boodle Aldermen; it is their influence which keeps up the constant tinkering of the city charter at Albany. It is they who send thither the most powerful lobbies in support of every bit of legislation which the sober, honest, industrious, and intelligent portion of the community dreads. And they do not simply supply an existing demand for liquor—they spread the craving for it. They enlarge their own market every day. They set up their bars beside every school, and catch the boys of the community as soon as they begin to think of being men. They attack labor at every point at which it can be most easily damaged. They make it unreliable, wasteful, shiftless, improvident, unskilful. When a steady man has a good place, they get him kicked out of it for drunkenness; when a laborer's home is neat, orderly, clean, and comfortable, they convert it into an abode of squalor and filth, like the hut of the savage. There is no thinking man to-day in New York who does not know that if the liquor bills and liquor-dealers of this city could be cut down even two-thirds, there would be an improvement in our social and political condition which would astonish the whole country.

We therefore most earnestly ask those, of whatever way of thinking, who have at heart the elevation of the poor, to give the High-License Bill their active and energetic support. No matter what they aim at ultimately, they must see that no real improvement in the laborer's condition can be effected by law-making in a community which is ruled by

liquor-dealers—that is, by men directly interested in the promotion of a habit which impoverishes and degrades. Let us all join in delivering the city from this awful curse. After that our ways may again separate, but we shall at least be able to discuss our differences before more intelligent and self-respecting audiences.

THE RULE OF THE CRIMINAL CLASSES.

THERE is a movement on foot among the decent Democrats in Baltimore to secure the assistance of the Legislature of Maryland to rescue the city from the control of the criminal classes. In pursuance of this endeavor Mr. John K. Cowen recently made a speech which was reported in the *Cecil Democrat*. To this speech, or to some part of it, the *Baltimore Sun* took exceptions, implying that Mr. Cowen's picture of the situation of Baltimore as a city governed by law-breakers and assassins was overdrawn. Mr. Cowen has replied in a letter, several columns in length, addressed to the *Sun*, in which he particularizes some of the facts upon which his speech was based, and by which the Democratic Mugwumps of Baltimore expect to justify their appeal to the Maryland Legislature. This appeal, it should be remarked, is not a petition for general reform to be reached through outside agency and intervention of the gods, but merely such amendment of the election laws as shall enable the people of Baltimore to secure honest and free elections at all times, and a true return of the votes cast.

The picture drawn by Mr. Cowen of the existing state of Baltimore politics is considerably worse than anything we can now recall in the history of municipal governments. It is distinctly worse than the Tweed régime in New York, because it adds murder to ballot-stuffing and the commoner forms of political debauchery, as an instrumentality for gaining and retaining power in the city government. In order to find any parallel to Mr. Cowen's narrative we must go back to the conflicts of Milo and Clodius in the last days of the Roman Republic.

Mr. Cowen seeks to establish three propositions, viz.: that in the primary elections in the city of Baltimore the candidates for State and municipal offices are selected by men of criminal character and by criminal means; that in such elections the majority does not govern, but that men of criminal record falsify the count, and, by different methods, *distinctly criminal*, reverse the will of the people; that the city officials who get office by these means recognize in their appointments their dependence upon the criminal class, and act in accordance with its demands. Mr. Cowen relies upon common rumor to prove that the primary elections of the Democratic party in Baltimore are carried by frauds committed by criminals for criminal purposes and with criminal means. The only instance cited is that in which Eugene Higgins took a conspicuous part, and which was pretty thoroughly exposed at the time when Higgins received an appointment in the Treasury Department at Washington.

Coming to the elections held in pursuance of law, Mr. Cowen first analyzes the character and records of the judges appointed to receive and count the votes of the respectable citizens of

Baltimore in the last municipal election: Michael McCloskey, judge of election in the Eighth Ward, had been indicted and convicted of crime, and was further disqualified under the law by holding a city employment; Emil Telle, Ninth Ward, indicted, convicted, sent to jail, and pardoned; Michael Rolf, Tenth Ward, indicted for keeping a policy shop and found guilty, also indicted for assault with intent to kill, the Sheriff having become his bail and the case not being pushed; Henry Wich (Republican judge), First Ward, indicted, convicted, served in jail six months; Thomas Philbin, Fourteenth Ward, indicted nine times between November 24, 1882, and October 8, 1886; Robert Blunt, Sixth Ward, indicted and convicted as late as March 20, 1885; Charles P. Logue, Tenth Ward, indicted eight times between April 12, 1881, and July 3, 1883; Edward Kelly, indicted for assault with intent to kill, and convicted of assault June 20, 1884. One of the judges, name not given, had been convicted of enticing young girls, under fifteen years of age, to houses of prostitution, and another had a mistress who had been convicted and sent to the penitentiary for eighteen months for the same offence. Two of these rascals, having a very long and dark criminal record, committed a murder while the Supervisors were making the appointments of judges of election. Instantly the Supervisors destroyed all the papers that might have showed how they came to appoint such characters to such responsible places; and in order to make sure of getting all the evidence out of the way, they destroyed even the official list of the judges, so that a correct list has never been published. The name of Higgins here turns up again. Says Mr. Cowen:

"We ask how it comes that when Curran has broken the solidity of a big ward, two of the most notorious cutthroats in the city are selected from outside the party, given offices in that ward, and immediately murder the man giving trouble? Do the Supervisors explain? Far from it. They immediately destroy the only evidence that can throw any light upon the matter or establish their own innocence, if they be innocent. It is not too much to say that they act precisely as the pickpocket does—throws away the purse as soon as he has gotten the money out of it. We ask why does Higgins come all the way from Washington down to Locust Point to tell a witness of that tragedy that it is a matter of no account and will 'blow over'? Again no explanation. Gentlemen, that fact, until it be explained, can have but one meaning, and that is that the murder of Curran was a thing for which the organization was responsible, was done as its measure, and that the murderers must be protected. Do you know any other explanation? If you do, I shall be interested to have it. We ask, What need has the party for a thing of darkness like Higgins at all, and why should he be kept in office at Washington against the remonstrance and to the disgust of the whole country?"

The transactions of this precious lot of election judges in their several precincts after they entered upon the performance of their duties are recited in detail. Every kind of fraud to make the return of the votes different from the true one was resorted to, with the ascertained result of falsifying more than 9,000 votes in the last municipal election. Mr. Cowen closes his letter with the simple inquiry whether the people of Maryland desire to have their chief city given over in permanence to the rule of the criminal classes. If such is their preference, they have only to leave

things as they are. But really there is no such thing as permanence in this kind of a government. The next stage will be fighting in the streets between different bands of the criminal classes, like the battle between Milo and Clodius and their gladiators in the Appian Way.

"THE SOLDIER VOTE."

THE only reason why Congress passed the Dependent Pension Bill was because Congressmen supposed that support of it would "make them solid" with "the soldier vote." The general public did not appear to take much interest in the matter, but the Washington claim agents had worked up an apparent demand for the measure on the part of the veterans, and it was solely the idea that support of the bill would strengthen Senators and Representatives with the soldiers among their constituents, which gave it an overwhelming majority.

The theory upon which this action was based, baldly stated, is that the ex-soldiers of the Union Army are open to bribery, and that their votes may be captured by special appropriations for them as a class from the public Treasury. This theory has been generally held by the politicians ever since the war, and has now come to be accepted as gospel by the average Congressman of either party. The alarming growth of the pension list, which, but for the President's veto, would have given us a standing army of beneficiaries far larger than the standing army of fighting men in such great Powers as France or Germany, was due not to disinterested love of the Union veterans, but to a belief that they were so mercenary in their character that they would support any public man who voted them money, and oppose any public man who voted against any such grant.

And yet, like so many other traditions, this theory has no foundation in fact. Indeed, it has been demonstrated over and over again that the facts are directly opposed to the theory. Both positively and negatively it has been proved beyond possibility of doubt that "the soldier vote" is not a bribable vote; that the man who tries to secure it by championing unjustifiable pension bills does not succeed; that the man who stands by his convictions in opposing such measures gains rather than loses among the soldiers themselves. The occasion is timely for citing some notable illustrations of this truth, which just now so much needs to be brought out.

In the Forty-fifth Congress the Democrats had a good majority in the House, and the Chairman of the Pension Committee was Americus V. Rice, an Ohio Democrat. Mr. Rice's Committee reported the Arrears of Pensions Act—an utterly unjustifiable measure, under which the vast sum of \$218,000,000 has already been distributed—and the Democratic House passed it with a whoop. In 1877 the Democrats had elected their candidate as Governor of Ohio by 22,000 votes, and in 1878 the contest for minor State offices had been so close that Democratic success in 1879 appeared probable. To make assurance doubly sure, the Democrats resolved to capture "the soldier vote" by nominating Gen. Rice and Gen. Ewing, another old soldier who had sup-

ported the Arrears Act, for the first two places on their ticket. The result was that Foster, a civilian, was elected Governor over Ewing by 17,129 votes, and Rice was beaten for Lieutenant-Governor by 15,598 votes. Such was the sequel to the championship of the Arrears Act.

For two or three years past a little band of greedy schemers, who appear to "run" the Grand Army organization in Massachusetts, have been diligently pushing the "service pension" project, which would place on the roll every man who ever served three months in the Union Army. The self-respecting veterans of Massachusetts were hostile to the job, but on the surface it appeared to be popular with the soldiers. Such was the conclusion of Congressman Lovering of the Sixth District, and accordingly he became the zealous advocate of the scheme. In 1884, Lovering was elected over the Republican candidate by 265 plurality; in 1886, after two years' effort to capture "the soldier vote" by pushing the service-pension project, he was defeated by 728 plurality.

The moral of Lovering's defeat was happily enforced by the fortune at the same election of Mr. Henry B. Peirce, for several years Secretary of State in Massachusetts. Mr. Peirce had made himself conspicuous by a manly fight against this job, and the schemers declared that he should be "snowed under" by "the soldier vote." Election came on, and the result of their threat was this: For Governor on the Republican ticket Mr. Ames had 122,346 votes; for Secretary of State Mr. Peirce had 122,684 votes.

Even more striking was the result of a similar issue in the Rochester Congressional District last fall. The service-pension scheme had somehow got a foothold among the Grand Army men there, and Mr. Baker, the Republican candidate, came out unequivocally and enthusiastically in favor of it. Mr. Bacon, the Democratic candidate, being directly questioned on this very subject by a deputation of would-be pensioners, answered not only that he did not favor such a measure, but declared that he was "resolutely and unalterably opposed" to it. The publication of this answer, so far from injuring him, brought him hundreds of Republican votes, even from soldiers, and carried his total several hundred above that for Judge Peckham, the Democratic candidate for Judge of the Court of Appeals, while Baker ran behind Daniels, the Republican candidate for Judge, the totals being: For Republican Judge, 13,254; for Republican Congressman, bidding for "the soldier vote," 13,170; for Democratic Judge, 10,050; for Democratic Congressman, "resolutely and unalterably opposed" to a pension job, 10,509.

The reception of President Cleveland's pension veto by the Union veterans shows that his action in this matter is to receive similar treatment by all self-respecting soldiers. The *Evening Post* publishes a number of the letters which he received before his decision, praying for a veto, and after his veto thanking him for it. "It originated with claim agents and professional pension-seekers," wrote one old soldier, "and is not the cry or plea of the great body of veterans. The only cry they have now is that you will spare them the honor of having

served their country because they loved her, and not as mere bounty and pension-seekers." The heartiness of the praise awarded him by Republican ex-soldiers is especially noteworthy. "Many times I have had occasion to commend your manly course," writes one; "but I write now to thank you, as an old soldier and a patriotic citizen, for your veto of the Dependent Pension Bill." "I write to thank you for vetoing the Dependent Pension Bill," says another. "I volunteered (under the call of President Lincoln) on the day after the attack on Fort Sumter, entering the ranks when I might have had an 'office,' and I think I have some right to speak as a volunteer soldier." As for the political effect of Mr. Cleveland's action among old soldiers, "A Cavalryman's" letter in the same paper undoubtedly represents the drift in saying—

"President Cleveland is entitled to the gratitude of the country for vetoing this iniquitous measure, and also for exposing the fraudulent character of so many of the private pension bills passed by Congress. I am opposed to him in politics, but he can have my vote next time if no better Republican than 'Jim' Blaine can be found to oppose him. In my judgment he has made a good President, and his general policy has been to ignore mere politics and serve the best interests of the people."

It is good to have the fact demonstrated that the old soldiers are, first of all, good citizens, and that "the soldier vote" cannot be captured by demagogues offering great bribes from the public Treasury. If it were otherwise, if our Union veterans were really the mercenaries they have been taken for by the demagogues, the prospect would be most gloomy, for they constitute an army of voters now, as they did an army of soldiers twenty-five years ago. But happily they do not differ from good citizens who were not soldiers, and they share that feeling which prompts one man to write Mr. Cleveland as follows:

"I am a Republican of over thirty years' standing, and during all that time have known of no act of any administration that has pleased me more than that of vetoing the Pension Bill lately passed by Congress. It is the most flagitious and cowardly measure I have ever known, and I sincerely thank you for vetoing it."

ARE ENGLISHMEN INTERESTED IN POLITICS?

LONDON, February 11, 1887.

THE question with which I have headed this letter may seem, at first sight, a strange one. No one who takes up an English newspaper, no one who reads an English magazine, no one who peruses the speeches of English politicians, can doubt that England is in the midst of a political crisis which excites the keen interest of the English people. The existence of the crisis is past denial; what is much more doubtful is the keenness of popular interest.

Let there, however, be no mistake about my meaning. It were the idlest folly to waste the columns of the *Nation* in maintaining the idle paradox that Englishmen took no interest in public affairs. It were almost equally silly to argue that because men and women in England pursued their private business, and enjoyed their private pleasures, while something like a revolution was impending over the country, they did not really care whether home rule was or was not granted to Ireland. No political change ever arouses the kind of universal and intense interest which historians are too apt to attribute even to petty party contests. In the very height of the

Reign of Terror, millions of Frenchmen pursued, we may be sure, the calm tenor of their lives; undisturbed by fear of the guillotine or by aspirations after an ideal republic. During the Lord George Gordon riots the theatres of London were, I believe, open, and respectable spectators contemplated with calm curiosity the fires kindled by the mob. But though it be a truth, and an important truth, that the storms of politics always leave the peace of private life to a great extent undisturbed, it is also true that the degree to which citizens of a country are occupied with the welfare of the state differs immensely in different ages and in different countries. My inquiry is certainly meant to suggest the inference that Englishmen are far less interested in the matters which concern Parliament than were their forefathers, and perhaps than are at this moment the inhabitants of other countries.

One fact is as certain as anything can be which depends upon merely historical evidence. During the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the class of Englishmen whose wishes determined the destinies of the nation were intensely and even passionately occupied in public affairs. Every foreigner—such a man, for example, as Voltaire—who visited England, was at once struck with the political spirit of English society. Partisanship, violence, or corruption could with more or less reason or plausibility be charged against English party leaders and their followers. The one charge which no one ever brought either against the nation or against its statesmen, was the vice of indifference or apathy. Goldsmith was not a subtle or a profound thinker. Lightness of thought, as of touch, is the characteristic quality of his work. But if he took life lightly, he observed it acutely, and any one who peruses either "The Traveller" or "The Citizen of the World," will see at once what was the impression made upon Goldsmith by the world around him. It seemed to him, as it no doubt really was, a world of politicians, and of politicians who, though they might gamble away the fortunes of their country, pursued the game of politics with the passionate enthusiasm of gamblers. No doubt the classes who found their chief interest in public affairs were in the main the classes who shared the power and the gains of Government. But the spirit of the wealthy affected the tone even of the poor. The exquisite account given by "The Citizen of the World" of the conversation between the imprisoned debtor and the drunken soldier is, as evidence of a state of feeling, worth hundreds of heavy dissertations by learned historians. The debtor is determined to take up arms against French invaders, because Frenchmen were slaves who knew nothing of liberty. The soldier, who interlards his conversation with the hottest oaths, is resolved to die in defence of his country because Frenchmen are Papists and would, if victorious, destroy English religious freedom. Satire is not to be read like an affidavit, but the exaggerations of a satirist must be based on truth. If debtors in England were not always devotees of a freedom which they did not themselves enjoy, and if drunken dragoons were not invariably zealous Protestants, we may yet be assured that, in Goldsmith's time, the men who filled the prisons and the army—English regiments, by the way, were in George the Third's time constantly recruited from the bulks—were, like the rich and the noble, inspired by the sentiment of intense pride in the civil and religious liberties of England. "When a butcher," says Johnson, "tells you that his heart bleeds for his country, he feels no real sensation." This is true, but when butchers shed even rhetorical tears over the fate of their country, we may be convinced that the mass of the people glow with the passion either of patriotism or of party spirit.

Johnson, Burke, Boswell, Goldsmith, all the members of the Club, were more or less typical representatives of English society, and no one who reads Boswell's pictures of the men among whom he moved, can doubt for a moment that the vast majority of them were what would now be called violent politicians.

If we come down to a later time, we still find public matters occupying almost to excess the attention of the nation. Whoever will take up any biography of the men who lived between say 1800 and 1848, will be struck with the keenness of their feeling about every great political movement. The advocates of the Reform Bill believed that an alteration in the constitution of Parliament would introduce a political millennium. The opponents of reform thought that the abolition of rotten boroughs was but the first step towards a reign of terror, and it is quite certain that what leading men thought and said (not only, be it remarked, in public, but also in their private letters and journals) was said and thought by thousands whose names are forgotten, or have never been known beyond the circle of their families. Arnold was a clergyman and a schoolmaster, living in the quietest of English counties, yet he certainly, unless my memory deceives me, expressed in 1829 or 1830 a fear lest the prevalent violence of party feeling should lead to something like civil war. The virulence of party invective with regard even to the highest persons in the state was, half a century ago, something to which modern political controversy can afford no parallel. Invective is, it is true, often unreal, but words are, after all, the sign of feelings, and the rhetoric of party abuse gives some, though by no means a conclusive, proof of general interest in the result of political conflicts.

Contrast, now, the fact to which I have tried to direct attention, with at any rate the superficial phenomena of modern English society. England is in the midst of a movement which, whatever be its issue, must vitally affect the Constitution of the country. A proposed alteration in the English Constitution is, in Ireland at least, closely connected with social changes. Politics proverbially become exciting when they touch on matters connected with the rights of property, and no one, whatever be his party bias, dreams of denying that in Ireland the agrarian question and the political question are closely connected together. Discussions about home rule are for the moment merging in disputes about the Plan of Campaign. Nothing, it will be admitted, more surely embitters party spirit than the introduction of religious differences into the field of public affairs. This element of bitterness is not wanting to the home-rule controversy. The position and rights of the Irish Protestants, and the influence or policy of the Catholic priesthood, cannot be put out of sight by any one called upon to make up his mind for or against home rule. To all this may be added that, behind differences of view as to the government of Ireland, lie hidden, or only half hidden, essential differences of opinion or of sentiment as to the government of England, and indeed as to the whole relation between the state and individuals.

Here, it might be thought, we have every element which ought to excite the keenest interest, not to say the most vehement passion, throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. Now, no sensible man will assert that public feeling has not been stirred. A careful observer may think—and, as it seems to me, with reason—that the time of excitement and passion is coming nearer and nearer. It would cause me much pain, but no great surprise, to find that, as the contest about home rule grows hotter, differences of opinion on public affairs may disturb the harmony of private life. All I can say is, that hitherto it has been very difficult to find signs

of unmistakable interest on the part of the general public in the great political battle which is conventionally supposed to engross universal attention. It is almost impossible to believe that our fathers or our grandfathers would, on such an occasion as the present, have displayed anything like the calmness of their descendants. Prudence, moderation, and self-control are admitted virtues. No one can rate their political value too highly. But they are moral graces, it must be admitted, which men are apt to display with most ease in reference to any subject which does not greatly touch their feelings. Calmness is apt to be allied with indifference, and the political calmness of modern Englishmen suggests a waning interest in politics. Of the causes which may have produced this decline in the political spirit of the nation, I hope to say something in another letter.

AN OBSERVER.

Correspondence.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INTEREST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: A burst of applause from the country has followed the veto of the general Pension Bill. The courage of the President has rescued his constituents from the folly, not to say the wickedness, of the inorganic mass of Congress, swayed by the intrigues of wire-pullers, of whom the pension agents are only one sample. It is an interesting illustration of the relation which the President, as the representative of the whole nation, bears to the anarchy of local and private interests. But, after all, it is only *negative* action. As the oyster does not seek its food, but lies with its mouth open till the food tumbles into it, so the President must remain passive till the freaks of Congress furnish him material for digestion or rejection, the choice being generally as to the least of two evils. He has to sit an idle spectator of ground and lofty tumbling, till the scuffling acrobats fall outside of the arena, and then to thrust them back again.

But if this negative action excites such interest through the country, just imagine what *positive* action would do. If only the ringmaster could apply the whip directly to the animals, or (to be parliamentary) if, through his chosen agents, he could publicly demand and insist that Congress should take up and consider with some system and definiteness the state of the finances, of the tariff, of the navy, of the Indians, and so on! It might be thought that the position of the President would itself become less dignified and important, or what Napoleon called, in reference to the Abbé Sieyès's constitution, that of a "*cochon à l'engrais*," but this does not follow. He could announce his own policy clearly in his messages, and his Cabinet would be merely his servants to carry out that policy, holding their places only as long as they did so, or, in other words, would be responsible to him and not to Congress. It does not appear that he would be any less dignified in relation to legislation than he is (and there is nothing like it in the world) as the chosen representative of sixty millions of people.

One thing is made clearer by this event, and that is, that in proportion as the President does his duty, as he is less governed by party politics and more by considerations of the national interest, he becomes less the representative of one party against the other, and more that of the country against Congress. Hence, it follows that it is of no use to look to Congress to increase and extend his power over their deliberations. That must be done by popular agitation and a direct appeal to the people by somebody or some

organization, to force the hand of Congress in this direction.

I am tempted to add a comment on the letter of your correspondent, "L. N. D.," who argues that no progress can be expected from Congress, because he finds that in thirty-five years' experience the members from his district have been of a very inferior class, and yet, he thinks, quite equal to those from the rest of the country. The reason is very simple, that members are not chosen for what they do at Washington (for unless they are of a kind to descend to pure intrigue they can do nothing), but on account of their management of the political machine at home. Any one who will read the account, in Woodrow Wilson's 'Congressional Government,' of the fate of a member who tries by honorable public action to promote any measure of public interest, will easily see the reason of this.

When the public business is so systematized and organized that it can be taken out of the committee-rooms to the open sessions of the houses; when the motives, the action, and the influence of members can be seen and appreciated, not only by their constituents, but by the country; when ability can thus make its mark, and honorable distinction be gained, then the conditions of election will be changed, and the standard of character of members be steadily raised. But that can only be done by placing the conduct of business in the hands of responsible executive leaders—that is to say, responsible, not to Congress, but to the country.

G. B.

BOSTON, February 21, 1887.

ETHICS OF LAND TENURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR: A learned friend of mine, with earnest aspirations for the highest private and public morality, in tracing the wordy rhetoric of 'Progress and Poverty' to its real origin in the ninth chapter of Spencer's 'Social Statics,' seems to me to have somewhat confused the quality of practical discrimination, respecting which our sober race entertains a pretty good opinion of itself. It is not surprising that many who, like him, have been accustomed to follow with conviction the thoughts and conclusions of Mr. Spencer, should continue to yield their minds to him when he comes to extremely doubtful ground; and it is perhaps the ability and originality of his arguments on the morality of land tenure which induced Mr. Henry George to think them worthy of appropriation.

But Mr. Spencer is by no means the only scientist who has stumbled on strange paths, and it is not unnatural for his arguments to lose their force when they wander from the firm ground of experienced investigation to the more complex questions of public ethics and economy. While mathematical argument may be safely based on the fixed and solid facts which are accessible in the natural sciences, we know that definite and unshifting facts in social ethics are few in number, and subject to no end of qualifications, changes, and exceptions under the shifting circumstances of civilized social life. Mr. Spencer says: "We have here nothing to do with considerations of conventional privilege or legislative convenience. We have simply to inquire what is the verdict given by pure equity in the matter; and this verdict enjoins a protest against every existing pretension to the individual possession of the soil," because "the right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid, all deeds, customs, and laws notwithstanding." It is for that reason, stated in different forms and with all the consummate argument of which that great teacher is master, that he concludes, "Equity, therefore, does not permit property in land."

But no individual, however eminent, has any right to set up his own standard of so controverted a subject as "equity," and condemn all conflicting public law and usage. What is pure equity? What is equity, pure or impure? Had it ever in any age, or has it now, any common or accepted definition? Those spiritual religionists who think that solution of ethical questions is obtainable through prayer, by the special interposition of the Deity in each heart, have their view of it, while Mr. Bentham and his followers insist that equity, conscience, and words of kindred meaning only express the standard of strictly utilitarian social policy prevalent at the time and place, which standard constantly varies from age to age, and between different societies during the same age. Between those wide extremes exist a myriad definitions of every shade, each supported in learned essays and by a host of followers. Who is to decide between them? Manifestly, every seeker after truth, each for himself and on his own responsibility. No mortal being; whatever his own convictions, has a right to set up his particular ideal of equity, and square down to its doubtful and narrow edge the polity, usages, laws, and conscience of the rest of mankind. There never was, and cannot be, any common standard of "equity." Can the same standard prevail, for instance, in war and peace—with the preacher in his pulpit and the policeman in a riot—with the girl at a ball and the sailor shipwrecked among hungry savages? Surely not. How, then, shall we presume to try any right by an arbitrary standard which varies among different societies and peoples, and changes its meaning from generation to generation?

So much for "equity" as a standard. But it is a still more pernicious fallacy to treat land tenure as a question of equity at all. Nature has given many other things to "mankind at large," i. e., to him who first appropriates, and equity has no more to do with the appropriation of land than with that of a deer or a fish or a lump of coal. It is a question not of equity but of social policy. Fully three-fourths of the globe is unoccupied by civilized inhabitants, and its treasures of soil, minerals, and forests are unappropriated and therefore not yet required. When in future ages every acre shall be billeted with its inhabitant, then it may become necessary, as with the overlaid boat at sea, to decide which shall be sacrificed. But even in such case, since all have an equal right to life, it is policy and not equity which must pronounce the stern decree. But, for ages to come, perhaps during the existence of the human race, it is open to any man who will work and save, to exchange his savings for a part of the earth's surface; and whether the occupancy thus acquired shall be exclusive and perpetual, is not a matter of ethics, but of policy. And the moment we come to treat it as such, and proceed to examine such policy by the abundant light of history and experience, we shall immediately appreciate the facts that no form of civilization ever arose without it; that it has been invariably associated with all social progress; that every race which failed to appreciate or enforce it has been superseded by better ones; and that (outside of abnormal religious enthusiasm) nothing noble, strong, or good ever asserted or maintained itself except by the daring and effort of individuals largely incited by ambitious hopes for themselves and dependents, of which the acquisition and tenure of land was first and chief.

In every free society, municipal law but expresses the standard of social equity and policy prevailing at the place and time, and it is simply matter of fact and observation that, from the beginning of history, social progress, notwithstanding local and temporary exceptions, has, in the long run, been in exact proportion with the efficacy of opinion and law in maintaining rights of

property once acquired in the most fixed and responsible of all earthly possessions. I. J. W.

PHILADELPHIA, February 15, 1887.

THE LABOR VOTE IN PHILADELPHIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The labor vote at the Philadelphia municipal election on Tuesday last has a significance which would seem to merit attention. Philadelphia is preëminently a city of organized labor, and there is probably no other community in which so heavy a vote would be polled on any question (if such there be) in which the interests of labor could be recognized as antagonistic to those of the rest of the citizens. For months the labor agitators have been busy in organizing a political party and boasting of the impression which they would produce at the polls. On the eve of the election Mr. Henry George was brought here, and addressed a meeting computed to number not less than 3,000. The result was, that in a total poll of about 155,000 the leading candidate on the labor ticket received 1,664 votes. It is evident that labor agrarianism has no promising field of development in our distinctively industrial community.

Various causes could doubtless be named as contributing to this, but the leading one is not far to seek. In Philadelphia the most noteworthy social fact is the exceptionally wide distribution of property. From statistics furnished to me by the Assessors' Office, it appears that the number of individual owners of real estate may be estimated at about 90,000. If each of these represents a family averaging six members, it thus appears that one-half the population is directly interested in the land as owners. Besides this, through our system of "Building and Loan Associations," which in great measure play the part of savings banks, vast numbers not land-owners are interested in land-ownership through mortgages held by the associations. Such a community is not likely to listen with favor to the theories of Mr. George, who, though a native of our city, very naturally prefers to live in the more congenial atmosphere of New York.

Very closely connected with this is another social fact of importance. The number of separate dwelling-houses in Philadelphia is, in round numbers, 182,000. Of these about 40,000 are valued, including the lots, at less than \$1,000, and about 60,000 at between \$1,000 and \$2,000. As a rule, among the temperate industrial classes, every family expects to have a house to itself, and those who occupy rented houses live in the hope of some day owning their own roof-tree, for which, under our system of building, every facility is furnished. Those who are not land-owners, therefore, have at least their little outfits of furniture and their hopes of future ownership. Such men offer poor material for socialistic and agrarian agitation. What they own they have earned by hard labor and thrifty self-denial, and they are not disposed to share it with the shiftless, the idle, and the improvident.

What is called the labor question is too complicated a problem to be solved by a single factor; but I think the above facts show how at least one of its most menacing aspects is capable of solution, and of solution in a manner conducive to the elevation of humanity. Of course peculiar difficulties are presented by the topographical features of New York, rendering minute subdivision of property impossible; but there are few other American cities of magnitude in which the methods which have proved successful in Philadelphia would not in a generation produce the same results.—Respectfully yours, H. C. L.

PHILADELPHIA, February 17, 1887.

OFFICE-HOLDERS AS POLITICAL WORKERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the first number of the *Epoch* is an interesting discussion of the question whether public officers should actively engage in party politics. Elihu Root speaks for the Republican, Carl Schurz for the Independent, and Edward M. Shepard for the Democratic view of the case. The last, it must be said, is rather an excuse for the alleged inconsistencies of the President than a discussion of the question.

I do not wish here to enter upon the merits of the case, but merely to examine the principal consideration which leads Mr. Root to the conclusion that public officers should engage in party politics: "What we need in American politics is not so much to prevent intelligent people from doing their political duty, as to induce them to do it," he tells us. "Our general tendency is from the condition of a people who were eager to govern themselves, to that of a people who are willing to be governed by others."

Perhaps both propositions are true. Nevertheless, why is it desirable that intelligent citizens should engage in politics or that the American people should govern themselves? Is political activity or self-government an absolute good, a desirable end, or are they good only as they aid in bringing about needed legislation and good government? And if the latter, is it not equally clear that it is honest and conscientious, as well as intelligent, participation in politics and government which is calculated to secure these ends? It follows that it is highly desirable to eliminate or restrain the ignorant, prejudiced, and dishonest vote, or to have it directed and controlled by men of the other class so as to do as little harm as possible.

Mr. Root seems, therefore, to affirm the following propositions:

(1.) Public officers form the most honest, intelligent, and conscientious portion of the American people.

(2.) This class has a strong tendency to shirk that political activity which the country needs at their hands.

(3.) The active partisan effort of public officers, paid by the people and including State and municipal governments, controlling a patronage of more than two hundred million dollars annually, will tend to eliminate, restrain, or wisely direct the ignorant, dishonest, and purchasable vote.

With these ideas, he ought to hold, further, that it is the duty of the President to issue an order requiring all Federal office-holders to exert themselves to the utmost, and use all means at their command to subserve party interests.

H. E. W.

A BLIND GUIDE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue for February 10 you say, upon your highest editorial authority, that, during the political campaign of 1884, an Episcopal rector of Erie, Pa., was dismissed from his parish because he refused to vote for Blaine. You will pardon me, I hope, when I challenge the statement. No such incident occurred there during the campaign of 1884, or at any other time, either to an Episcopal rector or to a pastor of any other denomination. I have been intimately acquainted with the local history of Erie for years.

Were the zeal of the *Nation* as ardent for truth as it is to find something mean to say about Blaine, whether true or false, its readers would be more certain that some of its other "facts" are not made from similar Erie whole cloth.—I

have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully yours,
EUGENE M. CAMP.
PHILADELPHIA, February 12, 1887.

[We did not say what Mr. Camp charges us with saying, but we find to our regret that in what we did say we were misled by a Blaine organ. In an unguarded moment we gave credence to what we read in its columns about the matter in question, but now learn, on inquiry, that its statements were just about as "ardent for truth" as those so frequent in the Blaine press of the time on the subject of Plymouth Church and Mr. Beecher. Mr. Camp will forgive us, we are sure, on our solemn promise never again to believe an unsupported assertion of a Blaine newspaper.—ED. NATION.]

NEVADA ORANGES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the current number of the *Century* magazine, the writers of the 'Life of Abraham Lincoln' speak of Nevada as "that land of silver and cactus, of the orange and the sage-hen." As to the silver, the cactus, and the sage-hen, the description is doubtless correct, but the reference to the orange assumes an extension of the citrus belt that will cause profound surprise to the residents of the Pacific Slope. This slip in regard to Nevada prepares us for the misspelling of Sutter's name (Suttar appearing for Sutter) in the allusion to California, and makes us hesitate to set down the error as an oversight of the proof-reader.—Sincerely yours,
J. ELMORE.
LITTON SPRINGS, CAL., February 8, 1887.

THE WRONG JOHN COTTON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following literary discovery is announced in the *Sunday Record*, Boston, February 13:

"I must not close, my dear Everard, without mentioning a Theocritus that I recently found in an English catalogue in which I was hunting for some editions of the poet to add to my collection. This little volume bears the date 1683; but what makes it so curious and interesting to me is the fact that it is dedicated to Dr. John Cotton, our first Boston minister. This furnishes a point of view in regard to Cotton which is certainly not the common one; and it amused me greatly when I first noticed it. The first words of the dedication are as follows: 'Nobilitate, Virtute, Eruditione ac summa Humanitate conspicuo Viro, D.D. Johanni Cottoni Equiti Aurato & Baronetto. Maximo Literarum Literatorumque Patrono, Domine suo benevolentissimo, ac summa observantia in perpetuum coherendo, Author S.P.D.' I am sure I never before thought of Amariyllis & Berenice in connection with that old Puritan. The edition itself is disappointing, but the long dedicatory introduction is very interesting, and will amuse you sometime, when we get a chance to talk some things over together in the old way by the fire.

"Very faithfully yours,

"W. M. FULLERTON."

I say nothing of the strangeness of a dedication in 1683 to a man who died in 1652, because this edition might be a reprint. But I do wonder at the care taken to style Rev. John Cotton of Boston a knight and baronet, because, from modesty no doubt, he carefully concealed those honors during his lifetime. And I wonder how this appropriation of honors pleased the worthy Sir John Cotton, Bart., of Connington, grandson of that famous Sir Robert who founded the Cottonian Library. This Sir John succeeded his father (Sir Thomas) in 1662, and died December 12, 1702. Very strangely, his monument bears an inscription showing that he was fond of literature, and that he gave the library to the public

use. But, of course, he was not the person mentioned in the foregoing preface.

By the way, it might have been noted that this Sir John Cotton, Bart., had a son John who married the daughter of that typical Yankee, Sir George Downing, of whom New England is both proud and ashamed. This connection with the Theocritus, though rather far fetched, is at least substantial, and might have been dragged in safely to tickle our vanity on a Sunday morning.

POCOMAS.

BOSTON, St. Valentine's Day.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: President Charles Kendall Adams, in his article in the *Contemporary Review* for January on "University Education in the United States," speaking of the gradual relinquishment of the old-fashioned curriculum, and of the unsatisfactoriness of the plan of "parallel courses," says: "All of the more prominent universities, however, have felt themselves obliged to seek the same ends by other means. Harvard University has been the leader of this third movement, and the means by which its ends have been accomplished is known as the 'Elective System.'"

It is rather surprising to see such a statement at this late day and from such a source. Surely it is not too much to expect that one in high position, writing in a prominent review on this topic, should know what university did take the lead in this matter, as it has known no other system from its foundation by Thomas Jefferson. No better correction of the error can be given than in the words of Prof. Noah K. Davis, in an article in the February *Forum*, "Religious Exercises in State Schools." Speaking of the system of voluntary religious exercises in the University of Virginia, he says:

"Here then, we have the experiment fairly and fully tried through sixty years. While, just now, other colleges are timidly groping their way toward freedom in religious exercises, as well as toward elective studies, as though these were untried and dangerous experiments, there, the elective system throughout, and absolute freedom from any religious constraint, have long been constantly practised, with such results that no intelligent observer has ever dreamt of a wish to restore mediæval shackles, either in education or in religion. Virginia is a slow old State, they say; not making much progress. It may be so. But it would seem that, in some things, before pushing on farther, she can afford to wait till the rest catch up."

Respectfully yours,
UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI.

A. H.

THE DEGREE OF A.B.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Not only is the college degree of A.B. delightfully indefinite, but it is worse than indefinite. For, while the public are taught to believe it a symbol of good work done in some of the departments of the college menu, in fact it often means nothing more than that its receiver has managed to remain four years at college without having been guilty of any violent disregard of college laws, and has shown during that time that he has tried to study some one or two subjects.

When academies are permitted to give college degrees, a two-fold injustice is enacted. Such a giving of college degrees is unjust both to the public and to the poor student, who will sooner or later learn to his sorrow the great difference between his A.B. and, for example, that from Yale.

While I, too, "am a thorough believer in the elective system, yet I do not believe that any one is entitled to the degree of A.B." who has not done a certain amount of brain work, who has

not been educated up to a certain point. It is by no means necessary that A have done the same work in kind as B for him to receive the same degree; but it is necessary that they be equally educated, equally equipped for future work along their respective lines. For example, just how much French and German is an equivalent for a certain amount of Greek is for the gentlemen of the faculties of our colleges—not academies—to decide. That the equation cannot be made with mathematical truth, is no argument against the approximation of the truth. Let us learn something in this matter of college degrees from our cousins across the water. JESSE T. LITTLETON.
BELLE HAVEN, VA., February 16, 1887.

DISGUISED ADVERTISEMENTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One of your recent numbers had an article calling attention to the wrong many newspapers did their readers by publishing advertisements in the form or guise of reading matter, without anything to show its true character.

I think this must have escaped the notice of the publishers of the *Boston Advertiser and Transcript*, as yesterday both printed the enclosed advertisement of one of the biggest stock-jobbing electric enterprises going, in such a way as to lead the unwary to suppose it to be merely a matter of public interest; and in the *Transcript* copy the illusion was shrewdly made more complete by placing it directly under the staring heading "Postscript," as if it had just come over the wires from New York and was altogether too important a matter to keep back a moment. When such a generally high-toned and deservedly respected paper as the *Transcript* lends or sells itself to this kind of deception, it is time that its readers protest.

It may be claimed, in defence, that no deception was intended, and that the true character of the article was evident. This I cannot admit. If it made no difference in its value to the advertising party, why was it not marked "advertisement"? and how does the offence against business morality differ, except in degree, from accepting money for writing financial articles for the purpose of "booming" worthless stocks?

L.

BOSTON, February 16, 1887.

THAT RUSSIAN BEGGAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Here is another of Plastonoff's pusillanimous schemes. It bears the same heading as that reported in the *Nation* of February 17, and runs thus:

"KIEW, October 15, 1886."

"DEAR SIR: Supposing to translate into the Russian your great work, 'Two Years in the Jungle,' I ask your permission for translation. Should you favor me with an affirmative answer to this request, I hope you will be good enough to send me a copy of the book, with your autograph.

"I am, dear sir, yours most respectfully,

"ROMAN PLASTONOFF."

The scheme was a good one, for it flattered my personal vanity most powerfully. But the artful dodger calmly reposing in the last sentence was too apparent to be overlooked, and the little scheme miscarried. With me Mr. Plastonoff is out of pocket to the extent of his postage and his time. At first I resolved to write him a sarcastic reply, but on second thought it seemed that the game was not worth the candle. Now that I know the extent of his dishonest scheming for books, thanks to the *Nation*, it will afford me great pleasure to reply to his request in a manner befitting the occasion.—Yours very truly,

WILLIAM T. HORNADAY.

UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM, WASHINGTON,
February 19, 1887.

Notes.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS' spring announcements include Laveleye's 'Balkan Peninsula'; 'Scotland as It Was and as It Is,' by the Duke of Argyll—an illustrated octavo; 'Two Years in Europe,' by Prof. Rodney Glisan, M.D., likewise illustrated; the following in the "Nations" series—Persia, by S. G. W. Benjamin, Assyria (in continuance of Chaldeia), by Z. A. Ragozin, Ancient Egypt, by Prof. Rawlinson, Alexander's Empire, by Prof. J. P. Mahaffy; a new series, entitled "English History as Told by Contemporary Writers," edited by F. York Powell; 'The Memorials of Half a Century,' by Bela Hubbard; and 'Sketches in Song,' by Prof. Geo. L. Raymond of Princeton College.

Under the title of "The Theological Educator," Thomas Whittaker will publish at short intervals a series of manuals, edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., in conjunction with other British scholars and theologians. 'A Grammar of New Testament Greek,' 'The Thirty-nine Articles,' 'Preaching,' 'The Creeds,' 'A Manual of Christian Evidences,' are some of the forthcoming issues.

From the Government Printing Office we have the great volume of the Fish and Fisheries Commissioner's Report for 1884. It embraces the usual variety of matter, from details of the operations of the Commission on sea and land to an account of driven wells for the water supply of the station at Wood's Holl, and an experimental discussion of the comparative digestibility of fish flesh. The third volume in the series called 'Mineral Resources of the United States' has appeared for the year 1885. Natural gas, fertilizers, mineral paints, building stone, besides the precious and base metals, are some of the topics discussed from a practical point of view, with the free use of statistics. More readable than either of the foregoing works, in a literary sense, is Lieut. Schwatka's 'Military Reconnaissance in Alaska,' undertaken in 1883. It is illustrated with tolerable process cuts from photographs, and with numerous charts, and has much to relate of scenery and population from Chilkoot Inlet, Alaska, to Fort Selkirk, B. C. Only the native tribes visited are described, but these fully, according to instructions. The report is not long, the charts exceeding it in bulk. The Bureau of Navigation puts out No. 83, a pamphlet on 'The Use of Oil to Lessen the Dangerous Effect of Heavy Seas.' The evidence already accumulated is so strong that neglect to resort to this use, or to make regular provision for it, must be thought highly culpable.

'The Pilgrimage to Parnassus, with the two parts of the Return from Parnassus: Three Comedies performed in St. John's College, Cambridge, A. D. 1597-1601,' edited from MSS. by the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A., F.S.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan), is a volume of especial interest to Shaksperian students, as well as to all students of the old drama. The third part has been several times published, but the text of this issue is more authentic, and the two opening parts are altogether fresh. The new passages in reference to Shakspeare show once more his popularity, and especially the vogue of 'Venus and Adonis,' though the praise of "sweete Mr. Shakspeare" is put into the mouth of a pretender to knowledge. There is a good deal of interest in the notices of contemporary university life and of the "poor scholars'" condition in the world, as well as in some of the realistic low characters. It is a very noticeable and valuable addition to the illustrative literature of the time, and renews the hope that there are yet new finds to be made even in the well-worked field of Shakspeare reference-books.

Though partaking of the nature of an advertisement, Mr. M. N. Forney's 'Locomotives and Locomotive Building' tells not only the history of the Rogers Works at Paterson, N. J., but of the development of the American engine out of and away from English models. It is very fully illustrated, even to "organic" details, and makes an interesting chapter in the annals of American inventiveness, industry, and enterprise.

The 'Public School French Reader,' published by Cassell & Co., is edited by M. Guillaume S. Conrad, French Master at Portsmouth Grammar School. It is quite elementary and well graded, and so abundantly provided with grammatical synopses and tables of all kinds that a pupil might begin the study of French without the use of any other book, especially as it has a complete vocabulary, with full grammatical and etymological notes. Words occurring for the first time are in large type, and all peculiarities of language are in italics. Everything seems done to make the text-book agreeable to the pupil, but instructors might be glad to know where the extracts are taken from; of this there is no indication.

'Le Livre: l'illustration—la reliure' is a short historical account of the development of the printed book. It is published in the "Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts," and is by M. Henri Bouchot (Paris: Quantin; New York: Christern). The author, who is attached to the *département des estampes* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, says modestly that his work has no pretention to enlighten the learned, but addresses itself rather to an audience interested in the artistic aspects of the subject. For this purpose the decoration of books has been specially treated, and more particularly all that relates to the designers and engravers who have adorned them since the invention of printing. The numerous illustrations of the volume are taken from rare works, and generally seem to be those which have not been extensively reproduced. The narrow limits of a single volume, however, prevent any satisfactory presentation of the decorative arts as applied to books, for 'Le Livre' is a sketch of the subject extending over the whole period of more than four and a-half centuries since printed books have existed.

Bernard Quaritch, 15 Piccadilly, London, is extending his unsurpassed series of sale catalogues with 'Monuments of the Early Printers in All Countries.' Part i embraces books from Germany and the Low Countries; Part ii, those from Italy.

The Columbia Library School was opened in this city on January 5, with twenty pupils from without Columbia College, some coming from as remote points as San Francisco and Birmingham, England. New York City and State furnish seven, Massachusetts five, etc. Four-fifths are women. Three hours of direct instruction are given in the old library of Columbia College. The lectures cover a wide range of topics, *e. g.*, "Character and Dialect in Fiction" (W. H. Bishop), "The South in the Past and in the Future" (E. S. Nadal), "Molière" (G. A. Scribner), "Egypt 2,000 Years Ago" (Mytton Maury), "The Poetry of Wordsworth" (T. M. Coan), "The Argument against Classical Study" (H. T. Peck), besides the special discourses on library economy, as, "A Library's Maximum of Usefulness," "As Regards Books," "As Regards Readers" (W. E. Foster).

After twenty years of persistent accumulation, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has raised a binding fund of \$20,000, whose income will now become available for the first time. The thirty-fourth annual report also states that the bound newspaper files in the Society's library number 4,942.

Special stress is laid on the collection of news-

papers in the report of the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass., printed in the new volume of Proceedings (vol. iv, Part 3). This society has a number of duplicate files ready for exchange. The *pièce de résistance* of these Proceedings is Dr. Charles Deane's minute inquiry into the history of slavery and the slave-trade in Massachusetts, provoked by the foolish remark of a North Carolina Senator in regard to the responsibility of Massachusetts for the introduction of slavery into this continent, as "the nursing mother of the horrors of the middle passage." In slave-trading it is notorious that Rhode Island easily led all New England.

Vol. 20 of the *American Law Review* (St. Louis: Review Publishing Co.) reaches us in an imperfect form. We trust that other copies of this work may not have a page torn out of them, and be otherwise defective; like the one which lies before us. This volume has various articles on codification, on both sides of the question, readable but not very important, although from eminent persons. The wretched compilations which some are seeking to impose upon the State of New York as codes of law do not get their full deserts of condemnation. Nor is the point sufficiently pressed against the codifiers, that the first thing to do is to understand our existing law far more thoroughly than we do at present. There are several articles of merit in this volume, *e. g.*, on "Special Interrogations to Juries," "Warranties and Conditions in Sales," "Extradition," "The Treaty-making Power," and others; but we have not noticed any that equal several of those in the last volume.

The first numbers reach us of the *Railway and Corporation Law Journal*, published in this city. "The essential features of this journal," we are told, "will be the publication of the English and American corporation and railway cases. It will give either full or abbreviated reports of all railway and corporation decisions handed down after January 1, 1887." No doubt this will be useful, and it may be a successful venture. But we doubt the necessity for adding to the already over-numerous periodicals which clamor for the lawyer's money.

Prof. Shaler broaches, in the *Harvard Monthly* for February, a scheme of scholarships for post-graduate courses, the fund being in the keeping of Harvard, but the filling of the scholarships being left to a certain number of colleges which can be trusted to select worthy beneficiaries. No doubt he is right in speculating that this would tend to the greater frequenting of the colleges in question, and so effect missionary work in the cause of the higher education.

Walford's Antiquarian, published by George Redway, London, is enlarged for the year 1887, and is a handsome, well-printed octavo. The first article in the January number is an account of Domesday Book—historical and descriptive—with a cut representing the book itself and the chest in which it is kept. An article on "Madcap Harry" and Sir John Popham, by Charlotte G. Boger, undertakes to show that Chief-Justice Popham furnished, in his own pranks and escapades, the materials from which Shakspeare made out his account of those of Prince Hal. An article entitled "Tom Corygate, and his Crudities" contains some entertaining incidents from the European journey of Tom Corygate—a very rare book, published in 1611. In the February number a short article entitled "The Defence of England in the Sixteenth Century" embodies the results of an unprinted report made in the Napoleonic times—that England, against the Armada of 166 vessels manned by 27,128 men, had a fleet of 195 vessels, with 15,334 men; of course the Spanish ships were much the most powerful. "A Forgotten Crom-

wellian Tomb" tells of the tomb of Anna, daughter of Richard Cromwell, and contains considerable interesting matter about her father. The articles in this periodical are mostly short and readable, and there are several good reviews of books and a large number of antiquarian items.

The last number of the St. Petersburg *Euro-pean Messenger*, the leading Russian magazine, has an article by Gen. Przewalsky summarizing the results of his fourth journey in Central Asia, an account of which is soon to be published. The population, whose numbers he estimates at 9,000,000, inhabiting a tract of 120,000 square miles, four-fifths of which is desert, is divided into two classes, the nomads and the permanent dwellers on the oases at the foot of the mountains. While there are differences in race, religion, and manners, there is much in common with the Tanguts, Turcomans, Dongans, and Khirgiz. They are all characterized by extreme laziness and egoism, and are destitute of all ideas of honor, virtue, or duty. The immorality and the government of the sedentary people are far worse than those of the nomads. A large part of the article is taken up with Central Asian politics, the author asserting that the influence of Russia is greatly on the increase in these regions, except in Thibet. "I was able to convince myself, at every step of my last journey, that in all the cities and oases of Eastern Turkestan the inhabitants dream day and night of the better state of things which Russia will introduce." In closing, he advises a more energetic policy against Chinese intrigues.

Russia, which thus far has been free from the beyond-sea colonizing mania which has seized the other European Powers, seems to have been unable to resist the universal tendency. A Russian colony, numbering 1,800 persons, is ready to settle in New Guinea, provided the sanction of the Government can be obtained.

The London *Graphic* for January 29 has an illustrated article by Dr. Felkin on the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, with a fine portrait of Emin. The article itself is little more than a reproduction of a portion of his paper in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*. It is hoped that Stanley will reach Emin by the middle of June. The blockade of the Sudan, which has now lasted for more than three years, is about to be raised, and commercial intercourse between Egypt and the upper Nile region will be renewed. Whether this measure will add to the dangers of Emin's position remains to be seen.

'Franz Lieber, ein Bürger zweier Welten. Von Dr. Hugo Preuss,' is the title of one of the most recent numbers of the "Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge," edited by Rud. Virchow and Fr. von Holtzendorff (Hamburg: J. F. Richter, 1886). Dr. Preuss is an ardent admirer of Lieber. "The name of Francis Lieber," he says, "is of good repute in the literature of political science. He is esteemed by scholars as a profound and original thinker on this subject. But beyond the circle of workers in his special department he is as yet but little known among us in Germany; and yet his memory deserves to be cherished, not only in the annals of science, but likewise in the minds of his countrymen at large. . . . His mission in America was that of an envoy of German science. The political and social life with which he came in contact, as a citizen of the New World, he grasped and penetrated with the scientific and ethical spirit which, as a citizen of the Old World, he took with him over the ocean. . . . All his writings are illumined and warmed by lofty ideas of perfecting the human race and developing freedom. . . . Such a man belongs not merely to the people among whom he labored during his lifetime, but, above all, to the people who faithfully cherish the memory of his creative conceptions and the

bright example of his noble life" (pp. 7-8). Dr. Preuss also quotes the words of Holtzendorff: "For me he (Lieber) marks the culmination of universal political knowledge (*politischer Weltbildung*), in which all the spiritual powers of ancient classical culture, Italian art, German science, English love of freedom, and American independence had coalesced into one harmonious whole" (p. 9). The author then gives a brief account of Lieber's life and works (pp. 9-44). The pamphlet will doubtless contribute very much toward making Lieber as well known and esteemed in the land of his birth as he is in his adopted fatherland.

With parts 4 and 5 is concluded the 'Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes' composed by Dr. Otto Henne am Rhyn, and published by Grote in Berlin (New York: Westermann). When we consider the popular design and character of this work, and compare it with the "subscription books"—we mean the common run—foisted upon our own people, we can but be impressed with the difference in the appeals to literary taste and the love of beauty. Dr. Henne am Rhyn's 'History of German Civilization' is faultlessly printed, and most intelligently and bountifully illustrated, so that it is hardly too much to say that a purchaser ignorant of the language of the text would find entire satisfaction in the woodcuts, photographic facsimiles, and chromo-lithographs, which so vividly portray manners and customs, civic, military, and domestic life, famous cities and famous men. It is an education merely to study these pictorial accompaniments of a narrative penned by a learned scholar and antiquarian.

A parallel enterprise of the same eminent Berlin firm, the 'Allgemeine Weltgeschichte,' reaches the conclusion of its tenth volume in the 65th part, which, like its immediate predecessors, is wholly given up to the Napoleonic era. All our remarks above on the 'Kulturgeschichte' apply to this broader undertaking, the work of many authoritative hands. The illustrations deserve like praise, and are correspondingly plentiful.

'Argot and Slang,' a new French and English dictionary, by Prof. Barrère of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, is about to be issued by subscription as an *édition de luxe*. Each English rendering is followed by an English slang equivalent, and the work will possess a certain philological interest, not to say even readability. Its utility in reading modern French fiction is also urged in the prospectus before us.

—The number of books added to the Astor Library last year was 3,689, of which 2,720 were bought. The whole number of books, not including pamphlets, is now 225,179, making the Astor the fourth library in the country in the number of its volumes. In the character of its books it probably ranks well alongside the Harvard and the Boston Public. The Congressional Library, the only other that exceeds it in the number of its volumes, swells its list, as is well known, with a large number of works that increase its size rather than its worth. The number of books added to the Astor was considerably less than the annual increase of the four or five years preceding; but the library received many valuable accessions, and it still maintains its list of current periodicals, especially foreign, which is very large and important, but perhaps hardly as well known as it should be. Another volume of the new Astor Catalogue has been published within a few weeks, and this carries the work along through the letters E-K in 956 pages, and is consequently smaller than vol. i by 152 pages. The work maintains the same high character of the cataloguing, and the same elegant appearance of the page, that we noticed in the preceding volume. It is also executed on the same general

principles; but we understand that the limit to the books included has been largely extended, so that, while no date later than 1880 is to appear in the work, it yet will include a large number of accessions received later than 1880. In this volume the entry "Great Britain" covers the greatest number of pages—more than twenty-nine. Next comes "Free Masons," with over seven. A few subject entries are printed under both these heads, and under the first they are mainly anonymous. Biographical works and works on American local history are treated pretty fully under the proper subject headings; but these entries, while a convenience and a foretaste of what a subject-catalogue would yield, serve mainly to emphasize the true nature of the catalogue, as expressed in the title, namely, that it is a catalogue of authors and books.

—It may be well here to correct an error which, in view of Mr. Little's statement in the preface to vol. i, it would hardly be necessary to correct had it proceeded from an inferior source. We refer to Mr. Vinton's essay on the Catalogue, which was read before the American Library Association last year at its Milwaukee meeting, and which was afterwards printed without correction in the *Library Journal*. In it he said that the present work is to include all the books in the Library. He then went on to specify a certain book as strangely wanting. But the preface to vol. i distinctly said that the Catalogue was a continuation of Dr. Cogswell's four-volume catalogue of 1857-61. The title-pages of the new work also bear the word "continuation." A reference to the old and not superseded catalogue would have shown that the Library owns the work said to be wanting. Mr. Vinton also said, in his somewhat curious notice, that the Catalogue "gives every book under the first word of the title." The Catalogue puts anonymous works under the first word of the title, not an article or preposition, but other titles are extremely rarely put under their first words. It will, moreover, be found to be the rarest exception, if such titles are not the titles of collections, which are likely to be as well known, or better known, by their first words than by the names of their editors. The present Catalogue is rapidly advancing to completion, and it is thought that the whole work will be in the hands of readers at the Library in considerably less than two years more.

—Mr. Otto Schroeder has some new ideas about language, which he publishes in the January number of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. His thesis is that, in language, whatever is right; that inconsistencies, irregularities, varieties, and other obstacles to uniformity are not evils to be deplored or borne with patience, but are intrinsically good. It is to be hoped that Mr. Schroeder will not visit the United States, for, in addition to the dreary uniformity noticed by Europeans in other fields, we might thereafter be held up as an instance of the bad effects of uniformity of language. France, again, has for centuries been pursuing a centralizing policy in this matter, and there are persons who think the French language more convenient, and expressive, and comprehensible than the German. Indeed, there are even Germans who wish to "improve" their language. But these are, for the most part, according to Mr. Schroeder, not real Germans, but merely dwellers in the north-eastern provinces—that is, Germanized barbarians. Mr. Schroeder agrees with previous writers that there must be two varieties of language in any country, viz., the *Volkssprache* and the *Schriftsprache*; but he objects to these names, and proposes to substitute for the latter *Litteratursprache*. Long before the songs of Homer were written out, he remarks, their language was

as different from that of the listeners, in different places, as it was afterwards. The same is true to-day of the peasants at the extremes of Germany—Rügen and the Black Forest—whose dialects are as different as possible, but whose songs are in a language they can neither write nor speak.

—Mr. Schroeder, of course, recognizes the fact that language is an organism, and hence constantly in the process of development; but he holds that all changes other than natural ones—that is, all that are not inevitable, unforeseen, and unintended—should be discouraged. The literary language, he thinks, is a very good thing, but the efforts of schoolmasters and others to make it coincident with spoken language are absurd. There is, however, something worse than the pedantry of the schoolmasters, and that is what he calls the “paper” style—i. e., a form of expression other than colloquial about every-day matters. It is a long way, indeed, from the literary to the paper style, but, when the road is well paved, progress is rapid, says the proverb, and the pavement is here the new orthography. Our critic is as kindly disposed towards differences in spelling as he is towards deviations from uniformity in grammatical construction and in phraseology—sees, in fact, no objection to everybody's spelling as he likes, provided it is sanctioned by local or traditional usage. The “paper” enthusiast would prefer phonetic spelling; not, however, for its own sake, but because so soon as he has convinced the world that it must spell phonetically, behold, the world finds itself without any guide except the existing written language, so that, instead of spelling as they pronounce, people will have to pronounce as they spell.

—In 1883 Mr. D. A. Rovinsky brought out what was pronounced to be one of the greatest artistic and scientific publications of Russia, on the subject of old woodcuts, entitled ‘Russian Popular Pictures.’ This placed in the hands of native and foreign investigators materials in the line of popular art such as had previously been nearly inaccessible. The price was high, but the book sold so fast that it is now almost impossible to obtain a copy. Mr. Rovinsky has followed this up with another work on Russian art, which has been in course of publication since 1882. It consists of three parts, an atlas of drawings, a volume of descriptive text, and one of studies, each of which, by itself, would have constituted a great service to art. It is planned on a very large scale, and contains portraits, views, historical and social plates, plates prepared for the history of Russian engraving, representations of silversmith gravers’ work, and prints from other ancient and original plates. A few of the reproductions are in colors, including some in oil of the False Dimitri and Marina Mnishkek. This publication is in the line of ‘Monuments de la Monarchie Française [1729-1793],’ ‘Monuments Français Inédits [1806],’ and ‘Monumentos de la Monarquía Española,’ all unfinished. People in Russia and elsewhere are accustomed to think that all ancient representations of the Russians were made by foreigners, but this impression is erroneous. The most ancient of all, are fundamentally Russian, and Russian iconography dates from Svyatoslav’s Collection, a manuscript of 1103, one of the most important, most artistic, and most original monuments of Russian antiquity. Engraving began in the sixteenth century, but for a hundred years it remained in the hands of foreigners, so far as the presentation of historical and social subjects was concerned. The Russians knew how to engrave, but devoted themselves exclusively to religious subjects, and from the appearance of the first printed book, the Moscow ‘Apostles,’ in 1564, to the end of the seventeenth century, their engravings showed

only holy personages—bishops, apostles, King David, and so on—almost all the books printed being of a religious character. Such an iconographic gallery as Mr. Rovinsky’s has never existed anywhere, up to the present time. In it the Russian people are depicted, now by their own countrymen, now by foreigners, in their most intimate aspects, with portraits, costumes, the hearts of cities and the interiors of dwellings; with the emperors and the army, intellectual leaders, friends and enemies, both great and small, and their historical and domestic doings, collected from all over Europe and Russia.

—Under the heading of “A New Departure in Oriental Literature,” a brief summary has been given, in No. 1028, of a noteworthy tale translated from the Hindustāni. We refer to an English version of the ‘Taubatū-n-nasūh,’ executed by Mr. M. Kempson, late Director of Public Instruction in Northern India. The original work, as was observed, is admirably fitted to supersede, for initiation in a knowledge of Hindustāni or Urdu, the text-books which have long been in ordinary use. Not to speak of their insipidity and impurity, the Hindustāni has undergone an amazing development since the days in which those text-books were written. In fact, viewed linguistically, they are much as Dryden would be to a foreigner who wished to acquire an acquaintance with English for practical purposes. But the ‘Taubatū-n-nasūh,’ when we designated the end which it might subserve, was available only in slovenly Indian lithography, and unaccompanied by those aids which a commencing student finds indispensable. Mr. Kempson has now brought it out in a handsome volume, and has attached to the text not only a vocabulary, but abundant miscellaneous annotations. He has acquitted himself of his task well, yet not so well as could be desired. One cannot but wish that he had spent more time over his editing, and had been at more pains regarding sundry minutiae, such as diacritical marks and punctuation. As to terseness and finish of expression in his notes, too, he has hardly given himself sufficient trouble about them. However, be the shortcomings of his work what they may, it will prove eminently serviceable to the learner. That it stands highly recommended is evidenced by the fact that the English Civil-Service Commissioners have prescribed it to be read by selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service. The ‘Taubatū-n-nasūh’ is published by W. H. Allen & Co., London.

STEPHENS'S FRENCH REVOLUTION.

A History of the French Revolution. By H. Morse Stephens, Balliol College, Oxford. Vol. I. London: Rivingtons; New York: Scribners.

In Dr. Arnold’s correspondence may be found a letter to Carlyle on the then newly published ‘French Revolution.’ Arnold, it is manifest, is carried off his feet by the genius of an author whose powers were for the first time revealed to the public. He dwells on the lifelike sketches with which the book abounds. He insists upon its wisdom, its poetry, and its insight. We have no doubt that Mr. Morse Stephens has received many letters of congratulation on the appearance of his ‘History of the French Revolution’; we have no doubt that he has received much praise, and justly earned praise, for the first fruits of his labors. But it would greatly surprise us to find that any competent critic had written of Mr. Stephens’s book in anything like the terms used by Dr. Arnold of Carlyle’s masterpiece. Of dramatic power, of poetic genius, there is not a trace in Mr. Stephens’s volume. His merits are real and noteworthy, but they are not the excellences, nor are his defects the

faults, of Carlyle. It is of importance to state this plainly in the very forefront of any account of Mr. Stephens’s work. Readers who go to his pages expecting to find a poem in prose, or a sermon for the times, based on the lessons of the French Revolution, will meet with nothing but disappointment. What they will find is a solid—a hostile reviewer might say a heavy—account of the results which may be obtained by careful study of the best and latest authorities on a great and perplexing crisis in the annals of Europe. They will find a work, not of imagination, but of information; a book which, if it does not charm, certainly instructs, and which, to an intelligent reader, will appear a treatise full both of importance and of interest.

The importance of Mr. Morse Stephens’s work is twofold. The book is, in the first place, a summary of the immense additions to our knowledge of the French Revolution acquired during the last fifty years. The mere lapse of time has done something to place men and events in their right point of view. When Carlyle wrote, the Revolutionary storm was not over; neither Tories, Whigs, nor Radicals could look calmly at events which were near to the generation who witnessed the carrying of the great Reform Bill, and which, moreover, told in one way or another upon the political contests of the moment. Croker hated reform because he remembered the Revolution, and his detestation of revolutionists was intensified by the feeling that the French Revolution was the beginning of the movement which was, before his eyes, destroying the supremacy of the English Tories. Carlyle himself, when he wrote his ‘French Revolution,’ was in fact influenced by the enthusiasm of his day. His narrative was written with a purpose, and his real, though unconscious, aim was to prove that the spirit of the Revolution was the denunciation of cant and the destruction of shams. The sentiment of Carlyle is now nearly as dead as the sentiment of Croker. It is neither more nor less easy to tell the facts of the Revolution which sent Louis XVI. to the scaffold than to tell the history of the Great Rebellion which led to the death of Charles I.

Nor is it due only to the advantage of distance that we can see Louis XVI., Lafayette, Mirabeau, the Girondins, or the Jacobins in a light very different from the light in which they were regarded by the last generation. Our actual knowledge is immensely increased. The Revolution has been studied, and is being studied, with the most profound care by inquirers, each of whom investigates a different part of the drama, each of whom looks at it from different sides and with different prepossessions, and each of whom may base his conclusions upon different information. When we add to all this that the publication of memoirs, the revelation of diplomatic documents, the collection of large masses of facts bearing on the local incidents of the Revolutionary struggle, have given to modern writers on the Revolution materials for understanding its course which were inaccessible to Alison, Carlyle, Thiers, or Lamartine, it is hardly too much to say that the man who tells the tale of the fall of the French monarchy, and of the foundation and overthrow of the French Republic, has something like a new narrative to tell—or, if the story be not changed, he must rest it on new evidence. It is as placing before English readers this mass of new facts that Mr. Stephens’s book deserves to be called important; but the work has, in the second place, a negative importance from its promising to give the death-blow to a whole mass of errors which have nearly transformed history into legend.

The source of these delusions, whatever be the form they take, is one and the same. It is the notion that the so-called French Revolution,

which ought in reality to be considered a mere portion of the European Revolution, was an event quite unlike anything else to be found in the records of mankind; that the motives which governed leaders and people were not the motives which affect the course of ordinary life; and that the actors in the sanguinary drama of which the main scenes were exhibited in Paris, might be heroes or monsters, but were in any case giants of more than human mould. This radically false idea has begot a host of opposed, but in character similar, misconceptions. Hence has arisen the astounding Revolutionary legend. Jacobins whose policy was, in its stupidity no less than in its cruelty, the policy of savages, have been credited with high statesmanship. The rhetoric and the pedantry of the Girondins have passed for the highest form of political virtue. The victories of the republican armies have been painted, even by Carlyle, as miracles. Nor have the assailants of the Revolution escaped the disturbing effects of the Revolutionary atmosphere. Marie Antoinette has been credited with wisdom and insight; the nobility have been portrayed as men only too much influenced by sentiments of humanity; the *ancien régime*, which was hated by every one who knew it from experience, has been defended or extolled by writers who enjoy the benefits derived from the Revolution, and who fancy that evils of which we have now forgotten the existence, could not have been intolerable when they existed. If the delusions of revolutionists and of anti-revolutionists are ever to be dispelled, the work must be done by a writer such as Mr. Morse Stephens. His very defects are for this purpose an advantage. He is not carried away by the dramatic aspects of his subject; he feels as much interest in details as to the state of the French navy or the singular constitution of the French army, as in the taking of the Bastille or the flight to Varennes. Hence he constantly recalls to his readers that even a revolutionary struggle has, like everything else in the world, its prosaic side, and that the tumults at Paris constitute nothing like the whole of the great movement of which they were in reality little more than the outward sign.

Readers who acknowledge the importance of such a contribution to historical knowledge as Mr. Stephens's work, may perhaps be inclined to think that a book which destroys the legendary romance of the Revolution must be devoid of interest. But this notion is grounded on the mistaken fancy that history cannot be interesting unless it has the charm of a novel. To intelligent inquirers the interest of inquiries into the past consists in the addition which such inquiries make to knowledge of mankind. A reader must be either singularly stupid or singularly well informed who does not admit that his knowledge is increased by a perusal of Mr. Stephens's 'French Revolution,' and with regard to personages whose names we all mention glibly enough, but who to most of us are, after all, little better than names. How many persons, for instance, could really give anything like a definite account of Mounier, of Rabaut-Saint-Étienne, of Grégoire, or even, to speak plainly, of Lafayette? Yet each one of the celebrated men whom we have named, and a score more, were personages who in their time played (or seemed destined to play) no small part during the earlier stages of the Revolution, and about every one of them facts can be learned from Mr. Morse Stephens which are worth knowing. Nor in our judgment is it a small gain that our author fixes a student's attention upon the character and career of men who, like Mounier, did not ultimately exert a permanent influence on the course of French history. The heroes of the drama, Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, Napoleon, and a few more, are sure to engross enough attention. Their figures become so prominent that

one is apt to think that their character, their virtues or faults, determine the fate of the French nation. A little reflection on the careers of men who, though they started well, did not attain anything like lasting fame, is a salutary corrective to the overestimate of the weight exerted by the genius of individuals.

Mounier is a typical example of our meaning. For a short time he was one of the most conspicuous among Frenchmen. He played a leading part in the affairs of Dauphiné, which formed a curious but now forgotten prelude to the great Revolutionary tragedy. He was, as it happened, acquainted with England, where he had learned to study and admire English institutions:

"He had carefully studied Blackstone and De Lolme, and looked upon the English Constitution as a whole without understanding that it had been the growth of centuries of compromise, and that it was in many points both more practical and less logical than his authorities stated. Confiding in his knowledge of political theories, Mounier had boldly taken the lead both at Vizille and at Romans, and had won the greatest political reputation in France; but the vanity of the man, and the incurable narrowness which always distinguishes a theoretical politician, prevented him from becoming a leader at Versailles."

This very commonplace statement of commonplace facts recalls what is in constant danger of being forgotten. At the commencement of the Revolution the men of weight were moderate constitutionalists; the nation aspired to the blessings of constitutional government. Could France have been polled, there almost certainly would have been a majority in favor of establishing a constitution like that of England. Nothing like the English Constitution was established, and mainly for two reasons. Frenchmen like Mounier saw English institutions through the utterly misleading light of theories propounded by Blackstone and De Lolme. The English polity was, further, in fact an aristocratic constitution masked under the forms of a monarchy. No scheme of government was more radically unsuitable for a people like the French, who did not in reality dislike monarchical authority, and who thoroughly detested aristocratic privilege. But the failures of French statesmanship will never be understood unless we bear in mind the very fact of which Mounier's career is a memorial, that the moderate reformers of France were as much misled by false views of the English Constitution as were Republicans by utterly ill-founded admiration for the institutions of Rome or of Sparta. It is difficult to say whether Blackstone or Plutarch were the worst guide to a Frenchman in search of the best of constitutions.

Mr. Stephens, again, throws fully as much light upon institutions as he does upon individuals. Nothing in his book is better than the account of the elections to the States-General. We all know in a vague manner that the convocation of the old French Assembly was a revival of an utterly forgotten institution; but we must study the matter in some detail before we can see how completely the existence and the nature of the States-General had passed out of human memory when, in an ill-fated moment, Louis XVI. attempted to revive an old institution in order that it might perform the new task of remodelling everything in France. If any man were to propose the restoration in England of the unreformed Parliament as it existed in 1800, or that the United States should resume the position of the American colonies before the War of Independence, he would be pronounced fit for Bedlam. Yet the proposal would be in one sense less wild than the scheme actually adopted by Necker. The nature of the unreformed Parliament can be ascertained (there are men still living who remember its existence), and that Parliament actually did govern Great Britain and Ireland. Any one who pleases can make out the relation

which existed between England and her colonies till the American colonies revolted against the assertion of Parliamentary supremacy. But in 1788 no one in France really knew what had been the constitution of the States-General, and the States-General had never in reality been the permanent government of France. As you read Mr. Morse Stephens's first chapter, you see that it was the King and his Ministers who, in reality, set the example of substituting Utopias for really attainable political aims. The convocation of the States-General was, as it was conducted, the maddest of mad experiments, and, as one reads the details of the elections, any one can perceive that the first and fatal error of the King and his advisers was to let loose every element of discord and confusion while refusing to guide the Revolution at a time when the nation asked for nothing so much as for guidance. At the very moment when the necessities of the times demanded a strong government, and while the Crown was still popular, the army and the navy, the forces on which the Executive had to rely, were allowed to fall, in consequence partly of old abuses, and partly of rash reforms, into utter disorder. No single chapter of our author's work is better worth reading than the essay (for it is nothing less) on the French Army and Navy. It explains two or three things which must have often puzzled thoughtful students. It shows, for example, how it happened that the old army, while it did not save the Crown of the Bourbons, was nevertheless the body which supplied the great generals and conspicuous officers of the Republic and the Empire. It also brings to light a matter naturally overlooked by Englishmen, that the triumphs of Nelson and his companions were due, in part at least, to the mismanagement which had disintegrated the old navy of France.

One problem which, so to speak, sums up most of the speculative questions raised by the earlier stages of the Revolution, receives careful consideration from Mr. Morse Stephens. Had Mirabeau planned out a policy which, but for his death, might have saved the monarchy, or (what is, oddly enough, really the same thing) which might have saved the Revolution, from failure? Our author gives as near an answer to this inquiry as is possible. Mirabeau, it is certain, entered into definite relations with the Court. It is also certain that he received pecuniary payment for his services. We may further add to this that there is little reason for supposing that he sold his principles. He was bought, but he was not corrupted. He joined the Court, it would appear, with a view of carrying out what he held to be sound policy. He wished, as our author puts it, to restore order, but not to restore the old order of things. He had, moreover, a distinct policy, and a policy which, if it varied in form, preserved throughout the same essential characteristic. The King was to become the guide of the Revolution; he was, surrounded with force and dignity, to retreat openly from Paris. "Why should we fear civil war?" said Mirabeau. "Civil war—it will be the means of saving the King, who will be lost without hope if he continues to stop in Paris." His primary idea was an open appeal from Paris to the country. When he found that the Court had not the boldness to adopt his great scheme, he proposed a less daring but more subtle plan for discrediting the Assembly, and, by force of provincial opinion, compelling its dissolution. The King the leader of the country, and the country the supporter of the King against Paris—this, under different shapes, was Mirabeau's policy. Could it have succeeded?

When we ask this question we must, if we keep the facts brought out by Mr. Morse Stephens in view, keep distinct two different inquiries which are liable to be blended together. Could the

Crown have been saved if the King would have been guided by Mirabeau as Victor Emanuel was guided by Cavour, or even to the extent in which, in 1783, George III. was guided by Pitt? As far as any matter which cannot be tested by experience admits of an answer, we believe it to be all but certain that our reply should be in the affirmative. The King was popular; monarchy was not hated by the French nation; the reforms for which the people really cared were exactly that class of reforms which might have increased rather than diminished the influence of the Crown. Louis XVI. might, well, under the guidance of a statesman, have anticipated all that was permanent in Napoleonic institutions. Was Mirabeau's policy, as things stood—including under the term "things" the character of the King and of the Queen—a policy which had a fair chance of success? We hold, and we take it that Mr. Morse Stephens holds with us, that this inquiry must be met with an unhesitating negative. Neither King nor Queen would trust the one man capable of aiding them. The childish romance that Mirabeau was captivated by Marie Antoinette rests on no basis. The idea that a singularly unwise woman, who never, throughout her career, recognized greatness of any sort, perceived the genius of Mirabeau and was willing to give him her confidence, is, it would seem, demonstrably untrue. His specific plans, moreover, assumed that the provinces could be played off against Paris. The assumption was not unnatural, and the later history of France since 1848 certainly shows that when once the country, as represented by the Government, can be rallied against the capital, the capital may be forced to give way. But it is in the highest degree doubtful whether, even under the leadership of Mirabeau, the provinces would have resisted the supremacy of Paris. No party throughout the great Revolution which relied on provincial support escaped ruin. The Girondins were the country party, and the Girondins were destroyed by the Mountain. The Jacobins fell, not because the provinces rose against their tyranny, but because the Terrorists were divided, and Paris at last supported the Convention against Robespierre. The later annals of the Revolution, the much neglected history of the Directorate, lead, unless we are mistaken, to the same conclusion—that, towards the end of the last century, the party or man who was victorious in Paris became of necessity the ruler of France.

The examination into the later phases of the Revolutionary struggle will, we venture to predict, exhibit in a specially favorable light Mr. Morse Stephens's historical powers. Meanwhile we are glad to express our high appreciation of a work which will, when completed, form such a manual of the history of the Revolution as does not at present exist in the English language. Mignet has supplied something like it for Frenchmen, but Mignet's work was written many years ago, and was therefore not based upon our present large store of information about the Revolution.

THE GREVILLE MEMOIRS.

A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria. From 1852 to 1860. By the late Charles C. F. Greville, Esq., Clerk of the Council. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co.; New York: Worthington Co. 1887. Also, in one volume. D. Appleton & Co.

It is impossible to resist a feeling of melancholy as one lays down these volumes. Never was the author of a journal more unobtrusive of his own personality, or more successful in winning the regard of his readers. As we draw toward its close we are oppressed with foreboding; we note with pain the signs of increasing age and depres-

sion, the longer and more frequent breaks in the narrative, the gradual withdrawal of the author from the world in which he had so long played a considerable though silent part. When he finally takes leave of us, his parting words are full of gloom: he declares that he closes his record "with a full consciousness of the smallness of its value or interest, and with great regret that I did not make better use of the opportunities I have had of recording something more worth reading."

This third part of the Memoirs adds little to our knowledge of history. It covers a period in which great events occurred—the war of the Crimea, the Indian Mutiny, and the Italian war—but it does not tell us much that is new. As history it even fails to be interesting. We have an accurate reflection of diplomatic life—the listening to contradictory reports derived from equally trustworthy or untrustworthy sources, the bickering, the indecision, the vacillation and the deceit of ministers, and the possible and probable views of sovereigns. All this is very agreeably told, and many side-lights are thrown upon the details of the political history of Europe during the era of Napoleon III.; but these details are, for the most part, unimportant. In spite of the opportunities for obtaining information possessed by Greville, he seems to have known little more than the newspapers. He is constantly changing his opinion about the possibilities of peace or war and the disposition of this potentate and that ambassador, and he is repeatedly obliged to abandon his most carefully formed judgments. To listen to him is like watching the shadow and sunshine of an April day. We may form an infinity of speculations as to what the weather will be, but they will most of them be wrong, and it will not be of much consequence if they are.

So far as English political history is concerned, or rather the secret history of the cabinets of the day, their making and unmaking, Greville is at least upon his own ground. But his view is a narrow one. He apparently has no clearly defined political principles, and his judgments are based almost entirely upon personal considerations. From his revelations we are led to think better than before of Aberdeen and worse of John Russell. He did not like Palmerston, and often speaks of him with great severity; but he shows and admits that a man of inferior character may have the great political merit of availability. Further than this we do not observe that he furnishes us much information that cannot be obtained from other sources, nor does he contribute much in the way of anecdote for our entertainment. We may therefore concur with the author in his estimate of the value of his work considered as a chronicle, and even join in his condemnation of his own negligence in the use of his rare opportunities. But these are matters of less consequence than he supposed; for while he is trying to tell us about the men and events of his day, we are thinking of him—watching his manner, learning his principles of judgment, and analyzing his mental and moral constitution. Had he anticipated this he would not have written, or, if he had, what he wrote would have lost its value. Modesty would have restrained him or self-consciousness would have ruined his work. But he had no such anticipation; we learn incidentally that he had the gout and went to all the horse races, but the details of his personal life he never dwells upon.

In illustration of his aristocratic temperament we may quote his remarks upon the death of Lord Beauvale; and we may observe, by the way, that these obituary notices of those whom he had known are of a very high order. There is nothing labored about them—the thoughts seem to have been written down as they came into

the mind of the author; yet their literary form is elegant, and they remind us of those characterizations with which the great historians of classic times were pleased to adorn their pages. They constitute, in fact, the most meritorious portion of the book. Of Lord Beauvale (Frederick Lamb) he says:

"He was not so remarkable a man in character as his brother William, less peculiar and eccentric, more like other people, with much less of literary acquirement, less caustic humor and pungent wit; but he had a vigorous understanding, great quickness, a good deal of general information; he was likewise well versed in business and public affairs, and a very sensible and intelligent converser and correspondent. He took a deep and lively interest in politics to the last moment of his life, was insatiably curious about all that was going on, and was much confided in and consulted by many people of very different parties and opinions. He never was in Parliament, but engaged all his life in a diplomatic career, for which he was very well fitted, having been extremely handsome in his youth, and always very clever, agreeable, and adroit. He consequently ran it with great success, and was in high estimation at Vienna, where his brother-in-law, Palmerston, sent him as Ambassador. He was always much addicted to gallantry, and had endless liaisons with women, most of whom continued to be his friends long after they had ceased to be his mistresses, much to the credit of all parties. After having led a very free and dissolute life, he had the good fortune at sixty years of age, and with a broken and enfeebled constitution, to settle (as it is called) by marrying a charming girl of twenty, the daughter of the Prussian Minister at Vienna, Count Maltzahn. This Adine, who was content to unite her May to his December, was to him a perfect angel, devoting her youthful energies to sustain and cheer his valetudinary existence with a cheerful unselfishness, which he repaid by a grateful and tender affection, having an air at once marital and paternal.

"He nominally belonged to the Liberal party, but in reality he was strongly Conservative, and he always dreaded the progress of democracy, though less disturbed than he would otherwise have been by reflecting that no material alteration could possibly overtake him. His most intimate friends abroad were the Metternichs and Madame de Lieven, and his notions of foreign policy were extremely congenial to theirs. Here, his connections all lying with people of the Liberal side, he had nothing to do with the Tories, for most of whom he entertained great contempt. Brougham, Ellice, and myself were the men he was most intimate with.

"He was largely endowed with social merits and virtues, without having or affecting any claim to those of a higher or moral character. I have no doubt he was much more amiable as an old man than he had ever been when he was a young one; and though the death of one so retired from the world can make little or no sensation in it, except as being the last of a remarkable family, he will be sincerely regretted, and his loss will be sensibly felt by the few who enjoyed the intimacy of his declining years."

It is hard to say which is the more striking—the intimacy between the Liberal ambassador and Metternich, the Conservative feeling and contempt for the Tories, the friendships so "much to the credit of all parties," the absence of all virtues of a "moral character," the sincere regret of Greville, or the passionate grief of the young wife, who, after devoting ten years of her life to nursing an old roué deprived of the use of his limbs by his own excesses, hopes to be relieved of the remainder of it "that she may (as she believes and expects) be enabled to join him in some other world." We cannot imagine any other world than this in which Lord Beauvale would be happy; but there is obviously nothing incongruous to Greville in the picture that he has drawn. It was taken from life—from the life that he was accustomed to and saw nothing strange in; and in his description of his friend he has revealed himself.

We would by no means give the impression that Greville was incapable of appreciating "merits and virtues of a moral character." His beautiful tribute to Lord Ellesmere would not have been out of place in a funeral sermon, and

much of his comment upon men and measures shows that he admired high aims and principles. But he was unable to look beyond the boundaries of his aristocratical world. He would have been well enough pleased, apparently, had the political arrangements of the Congress of Vienna remained unchanged. As he grew old, his dread of "progress," by which he understood the advance of democracy, increased, and he was annoyed that the oppressions of the Neapolitan despot should have received the official notice of other governments. So little sympathy had he with the longings of the Italian patriots for unity and freedom, that he regarded the establishment of the kingdom of Italy as a positive scandal. Yet in his day he had seen the necessity of reform in England.

We should be glad to quote his account of the life of Mme. de Lieven, but we can here only refer to it. Very pleasant in tone is what he has to say of Macaulay, and upon some points we should follow his judgment implicitly. He was above all a well-bred man, as well as a man of culture, and when he tells us that Macaulay was a thoroughly delightful and agreeable talker, we feel sure that those who have described him as an offensive and selfish monopolist have not been free from envy. What Greville says elsewhere of Rogers bears us out in this; but for our own part we are content to accept the opinion of a man whose discrimination in such matters was so highly cultivated as to have become instinctive. We quote a portion of his remarks upon this point:

"Nothing was more remarkable in Macaulay than the natural way in which he talked, never for the sake of display or to manifest his superior powers and knowledge. On the contrary, he was free from any assumption of superiority over others, and seemed to be impressed with the notion that those he conversed with knew as much as himself, and he was always quite as ready to listen as to talk. 'Don't you remember?' he was in the habit of saying when he quoted some book or alluded to some fact, to listeners who could not remember, because, in nineteen cases out of twenty, they had never known or heard of whatever it was he alluded to. I do not believe anybody ever left his society with any feeling of mortification, except that which an involuntary comparison between his knowledge and their own ignorance could not fail to engender."

We should be glad to quote further from this comment upon Macaulay—the estimate of his merits as an historian seems to us especially just—but our space does not permit. There is no end to the quotable passages in a book like this, and if the reader does not at once come upon what he wants, he has only to refer to the copious index at the end. It is easy to see where Greville's sympathies must have lain during our civil war, and we are undoubtedly spared some disagreeable reading by his discontinuing his journal in 1860. Nevertheless, we heartily regret that he stopped where he did. He could have shown us a side of things that we are not likely now to see, nor, at this interval of time, would his sentiments have been able to wound us.

RECENT LAW BOOKS.

AN important and very valuable recent publication of the United States Government is the three volumes, entitled 'A Digest of the International Law of the United States, taken from Documents issued by Presidents and Secretaries of State and from Decisions of Federal Courts and Opinions of Attorneys-General.' It is printed in accordance with a resolution of Congress of July 24 last, "under the editorial supervision of Francis Wharton." This digest had been already prepared by Dr. Wharton when this resolution was passed; and it is now published with his name on the back and on the title-page. Dr.

Wharton is well known as a legal author, and his former books have been marked by a peculiar neatness of appearance. But these volumes, from the Government press, look like a set of their poor relations. The editor must be a little chagrined, one would think, to come out in the squalid, inferior, *job-lot* dress (if one may so express it) that stamps what comes from the "Government Printing-Office." Dr. Wharton, however, is an official in the State Department, and it is in this character that he is now appearing. In substance these books are most useful; they must have cost the editor much labor. Dr. Wharton's industry and tact, and quick eye for what is interesting as well as serviceable, have stood him here in good stead. The volumes are mainly taken up with quotations from our state papers. Passages from other works are given, and many references to judicial decisions, with occasional extracts from them:

"In seeking for material I have turned every page of the volumes of records in the Department to which I have referred; and I have consulted in connection with them the various publications to be found in the annexed table. From these standards I have copied whatever in the way of principle bears on international law; and the extracts I have thus made I have arranged in the form of a digest, placing them chronologically under their respective heads. Of the materials that apply in the way of principle, to the task before me, I believe I have omitted no passages giving the deliberate opinions of Secretaries from the beginning of the Government to the present day."

It would, of course, be idle to call the claims, speculations, and declarations, more or less conflicting, more or less judicious, of our high political officials, by the name of "law," even as that term is understood when "we speak of international law," and, therefore, the title of this compilation is in a degree misleading. The position of our Government, for example, as regards the Cutting case, is fairly open to question. The book, then, is in the main a digest of the *interpretations* of international law found in our archives. It is divided into twenty-three chapters, and deals with such topics as "Intervention with Foreign Sovereignities," "Citizenship, Naturalization, and Alienage," "Extradition," "War," "Piracy and Privateering," and many more. Statesmen, students, and lawyers will find the book an invaluable aid.

Dr. Wharton in various places expresses a doubt whether the children of Chinese born in this country are citizens under the Fourteenth Amendment; and controverts the statement of Calvo that they are. But he gives scant reasons in support of his view, and appears to have overlooked the case of *Look Tin Sing*, 10 Sawyer, 353 (1884), in which it was held in the Circuit Court of the United States (Mr. Justice Field of the Supreme Court giving the opinion) that such Chinese are citizens. To say, as Dr. Wharton does (§ 197), that "Chinese . . . are not capable of naturalization under our system," is inaccurate, or, at least, very misleading. Does anybody suppose that if Congress were to repeal to-morrow that part of its present law which excludes the Chinese from naturalization, there is anything in "our system" to prevent it? And as to the children of Chinese, born here, why are they not as much "within our jurisdiction" as an Englishman's children born here? Certainly no statute of Congress, in excluding their parents from naturalization, can cut down the operation of the Constitution upon the children. It would be an interesting question whether the children of tribal Indians, born off a reservation and within one of our States, are not citizens of the United States. The editor has not cited the important Indian case of *United States v. Kagama*, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in May last (118 U. S., 375). The value of his useful volumes

is seriously lessened by the want of an index of cases.

Mr. J. K. Kinney's 'Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States from the Organization of the Court to the Close of the October Term, 1884,' in two volumes (Little, Brown & Co.), is an excellent performance. The notes are carefully prepared and are unusually exact and accurate. An examination of several of them and of the author's method of subdividing the titles and of his cross references leads to the opinion that we have here the work of a good and accurate lawyer, and that his preface is true in saying that "no labor has been spared where it has seemed that labor would add materially to the value of the work, in either matter or arrangement."

'A Treatise on the Limitations of the Police Power in the United States, considered both from a Civil and Criminal Standpoint'—such is the title of a portly octavo (St. Louis: The F. H. Thomas Law Book Co.) by Prof. C. G. Tiedman of the University of Missouri at Columbia. It relates to an interesting, but vaguely defined, topic in constitutional law—the limits upon the legislatures as regards the police power which are fixed, in terms or by just implications, in our written constitutions. The author, like the good judge in the proverb, amplifies his jurisdiction, and takes occasion to discuss at large such topics as the right of eminent domain and the legal-tender laws. He dissents from the decision in the case of *Juilliard v. Greenman*, but not, as it seems to us, with any marked strength of argument or in a manner to indicate any minuteness of research. The doctrine of *Munn v. Illinois*, the elevator case, is condemned; and, indeed, the author writes with a certain missionary purpose to discourage that sort of decision and encourage the contrary:

"The principal object of the present work is to demonstrate . . . that, under the written constitutions, Federal and State, democratic absolutism is impossible in this country, as long as the popular reverence for the constitutions, in their restrictions upon governmental activity, is nourished and sustained by a prompt avoidance by the courts of any violations of their provisions in word or spirit. . . . If the author succeeds in any measure in his attempt to awaken the public mind to a full appreciation of the power of constitutional limitations to protect private rights against the radical experimentations of social reformers, he will feel that he has been amply requited for his labors in the causes of social order and personal liberty."

Mr. Tiedman's book is a useful one for the practising lawyer. He has stated the law and collected the authorities on a large variety of topics. But he has omitted to consider duly one matter of fundamental importance, as regards the purpose that he has stated in the passages above quoted; and that is, the grounds, nature, and just scope of the judicial power to declare a legislative act void. There is much reason to think that missionary work is more needed in the direction of toning up our people and their legislative representatives to a recognition of the merely *moral* restraints which the constitutions impose upon them, than in spurring on the judges to a sterner exercise of their power of annulling legislative acts. At any rate, in undertaking the last office, it is highly important to analyze carefully the nature of this important function and to point out its just limits. We commend this matter to Prof. Tiedman's attention against the appearance of a second edition of his book.

A new edition of Pomeroy's 'Introduction to the Constitutional Law of the United States, especially designed for Students, General and Professional' (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), is now published—revised and enlarged by Edmund H. Bennett. The editor seems to have added something like a hundred pages to the text

of the book as left by the lamented author in his last edition of it; and he has given in an appendix of about eighteen pages abstracts of the latest cases in the national courts. The work of the editor consists mainly in a modest statement of the results of the later decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, and in the incorporation into the body of the work of some matter placed by Pomeroy in an appendix. This has been done in a judicious way. We welcome a new edition of one of the most valuable, intelligent, and original treatises on the Constitutional Law of the general Government which we have.

In Prof. Hare's 'Law of Contracts' (Little, Brown & Co.) we have an important contribution to a subject which has already received in recent years the attention of the keenest and most accomplished legal scholars. It illustrates the very great benefit which trained and learned legal students have it in their power to confer upon their profession. An eminent English lawyer said recently: "One of the many difficulties which stand in the way of improving the law of England—perhaps I might say the great difficulty—may be thus expressed: Those who have acquainted themselves with its provisions have generally neither the time nor the inclination to undertake any other task than that of administering it as an existing system. . . . On the other hand, those who have not a professional acquaintance with law are almost certain to be baffled in any attempt which they may make to improve it, by their ignorance of the subject." Prof. Hare belongs to a class of persons who are "learned in the law" in something more than that cheap and merely complimentary sense with which we are so familiar, and whose time and strength are not mainly absorbed in the work of practice and administration. Such men owe their profession a debt which nobody else can discharge.

The present work is worthy of Prof. Hare's reputation and of the high office which he, and men like him, hold in the field of legal authorship. About a hundred pages at the beginning of the book are given to a lucid statement of the development and peculiarities of the Roman procedure and the Roman law of contract. Then follow a statement of the development of the early English law, and a comparison of the two systems, which are of very great interest and value. Chapters are added on "Consideration," "Unilateral and Bilateral Contracts," "Performance," "Dependent and Independent Promises," and other subjects. The last half of the book is, in great part, a treatise on the law of sales of personal property, "being a practical and important application," says the author, "of the principles of both [the Roman and English] systems." Students of the law of contract, and practitioners who would fix in their minds clear and solid conceptions, will find this excellent volume no less interesting than it is instructive. At p. 178 the opinion in *McCulloch v. The Eagle Ins. Co.* is attributed to Chief Justice Shaw—an inadvertence; Judge Shaw was not yet on the bench. At p. 414 and elsewhere the author falls into a very common error in stating the doctrine of *Crofoot v. Bennett*. It is none the less clearly an error because eminent persons have made it before.

A second edition has appeared of Mr. George H. Smith's 'Elements of Right and of the Law' (Chicago: Callaghan & Co.). It is but a few months since we noticed the first edition of this interesting book. The rapid disappearance of that edition is accounted for in a brief note of the editor, who remarks that "nearly the whole" of it was destroyed by the burning of the premises of his former publishers. He has taken the opportunity "to thoroughly revise the work, and to add some authorities to those originally

cited." And we are glad to observe that he has also now given an index of cases, although in a somewhat eccentric form, viz., as a part of the general index under the letter A—"Authors and Cases Cited."

In the fourth edition of Mr. Melville M. Bigelow's well-known treatise on the 'Law of Estoppel' (Little, Brown & Co.) there are several important additions. "The chief features," he says, ". . . consist (1) in a more clear and exact marking of the limits of the subject in various places, and (2) a filling out to the limits wherever there was found vacant territory. . . . A particular example of the latter work may be seen in the new section 7 (on Waiver) of the chapter on Estoppel by Conduct (pp. 633-641); one of the former, in the consideration of judgments in rem, in chapters ii, iv, and v." As regards the subject last named, the author makes a careful analysis of judgments in rem, and incorporates the sensible limitations to the doctrine of the conclusive effect of such judgments, as it is ordinarily stated, that are pointed out in one or two recent cases, especially the case of *De Mora v. Concha*, 29 Ch. D. 268, in 1885, and that of *Brigham v. Fayerweather*, 140 Mass. 411. The chapter on Waiver is instructive, and should be read in connection with two valuable new pages (446-448), discriminating this and other matters, often called estoppel, from that which is strictly so called. It is to be hoped that Mr. Bigelow will work out these closely connected but in strictness, perhaps, outlying parts of the subject still more carefully. There is no part of the law which is more interesting to-day than this cloudy country of estoppel. This and parts of the law of evidence have long been the favorite hunting-grounds of judicial legislation. Estoppel is a very difficult topic to handle, because of the ambiguity of the phrase, and because the law in all departments is so largely developing under cover of this word. The profession owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Bigelow for his useful labors upon this very important subject. But much still remains to be done.

In Mr. F. F. Heard's 'Precedents of Pleadings in Personal Actions in the Superior Courts of Common Law' (Little, Brown & Co.), we have a work which might at first sight seem to be of only local use. The changes in the rules of pleading have been great in recent years, and different rules exist in different States; but, as the author remarks, "the effect . . . has not been to destroy the system or to change its essential principles." The forms appear to be brief and good. An introduction and notes, with extensive citations, add to the value of the book. Mr. Heard is a veteran at this sort of work.

The fifth edition of Washburn on 'Real Property,' edited by Joseph Willard and Simon Greenleaf Crosswell (Little, Brown & Co.), is the first one that has lacked the benefit of its author's laborious and conscientious care in the preparation of it. It appears, however, under names which give assurance that competent learning, as well as acute and careful study, have been applied to the work of editing. This is as it should be in the case of a book so valuable and so widely used. We are told by the editors that much work has been done in condensing as well as in adding, and that they have mainly confined their additions to the notes. In number of pages the body of this edition has about a hundred and fifty pages more than the last one published in 1876. The table of cases has twenty-four pages more, in double columns, indicating an addition of, say, twenty-eight hundred cases.

'Ohio Corporations' (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.) is the second edition of a book very useful, one would think, to lawyers of that State, prepared—with notes of decisions and forms for organizing and managing corporations—by Messrs.

A. T. Brewer and G. A. Laubscher of the Cleveland bar. The extent to which corporations are resorted to in our days, and the importance of the law relating to them, are very strikingly illustrated by what is said in the introduction to the first edition of this book, published in 1884:

"Under Ohio statutes corporations may now be formed for any purpose for which individuals may lawfully associate themselves, except for dealing in real estate or carrying on professional business. The extent to which Ohio people avail themselves of corporate rights may be judged by the fact that in the year 1883 alone 1,334 companies were formed, with authorized capital of \$209,000,000. Corporations of various kinds are now (1884) being formed at the rate of at least four for every working day in the year."

'The Road and the Roadside' (Little, Brown & Co.), by Burton Willis Potter, is a small book of a little more than a hundred pages. About half the book is taken up with an attempt to state in a familiar way the Massachusetts law relating to the principal topics connected with roads. The other parts of this little treatise are of the nature of essays on "location," "repairs," etc., of no striking value. Of the law chapters the writer says that they "were written and read as a lecture at the County Meeting of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture in December, 1885. . . . and have since been published in the Report on the Agriculture of Massachusetts for the Year 1885." The author was hardly well advised in reprinting them in a separate book.

'Railway Accident Law: The Liability of Railways for Injuries to the Person,' by Christopher Stuart Patterson of the Philadelphia bar (Philadelphia: T. & J. W. Johnson & Co.), is a good, useful, and, in the main, a carefully prepared book. A lawyer, a judge, or a corporation who has a case of the sort to which the book relates, will find here the result of an intelligent examination of many cases, by a writer of discrimination and independent judgment. The chapters, however, which relate to evidence and presumptions are thin and poor.

Mr. W. P. Preble, jr.'s 'Collisions in United States Waters' (Little, Brown & Co.) is a small book in two parts, containing, first, "a list of the cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States involving maritime collisions"; and, second, "an alphabetical synopsis of the points of law and of fact decided, referring to the cases in the first list." It is arranged upon a somewhat novel plan. In the list of cases there is a compact statement of the facts of each case. In the other table the author endeavors, with almost superfluous pains, to guide the reader to whatever he may be searching for. Under the head of "Locality," e. g., the place of each collision is given; and so under those of "Time" and "Nature of Collision" the cases are again tabulated. It seems to be a carefully prepared and useful book.

We can heartily praise the 'Historical Introduction to the Private Law of Rome,' by Dr. Muirhead, Professor of Roman Law in the University of Edinburgh (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black). It is a handsome octavo of something under four hundred and fifty pages, of which the writer says that "the following pages were written originally for the 'Encyclopaedia Britannica,' but had to be very much abridged in order to bring them within the limits of space the editor could afford to devote to their subject. He did me the honor to express the opinion that their publication *in extenso* would prove of service to various classes of readers. . . . This book is the result." It has every mark of embodying the results of the latest learning upon the subject. In point of interest and of a clear presentation of the topic, such as to meet the

wants of the general student and, in particular, of careful students of our own law, we have met no book in our language so satisfactory as this. It is divided into five parts, dealing with the Regal Period; the Jus Civile, from the establishment of the Republic till the subjugation of central and southern Italy; the Jus Gentium and Jus Honorarium—in the latter half of the Republic; the Jus Naturale and Maturity of Roman Jurisprudence—under the Empire, until the time of Diocletian; and the Period of Codification—from Diocletian to Justinian.

In regard to the famous passage in the Twelve Tables which appears to purport a right on the part of creditors to cut up the body of a debtor, Dr. Muirhead has an interesting discussion. He thinks, as others have thought, the notion of a literal division of the body among the creditors to be wholly inadmissible, notwithstanding the consent of antiquity in that interpretation. The word *secare* may well enough mean *distribute*, as in the phrases *bonorum sector* and *sectio personæ*, meaning the distribution of an estate.

"On consideration of the whole matter," says the author, "the explanation that most commends itself to me is this—that where there was but one creditor concerned, and the two months of provisional detention expired without payment, intervention of a *vindex*, or compromise of some sort, the debtor definitively became his creditor's free bondman in virtue of the magisterial *addictio*; but that where co-heirs were concerned, as bondage and service to all of them would have been inconvenient, it not impossible, when they were not to continue to possess the inheritance in common, the debtor was sent over Tiber and sold as a slave, and the price got for him divided amongst them. If one or other got more than his fair share, no harm was done; for the disproportion would eventually be redressed in an action of partition."

To bring about this reading, some heroic treatment of the text is necessary, which we will not stop to explain.

Retrospections of America, 1797-1811. By John Bernard. Edited from the Manuscript by Mrs. Bayle Bernard, with an Introduction, Notes, and Index by Laurence Hutton and Brander Matthews. Illustrated. Harper & Bros. 1887.

JOHN BERNARD'S earlier recollections, which included only his experience in his own land, were edited from his papers many years ago, by his son, and this volume of his American life is made up mainly of extracts from the same originals, also prepared by his son, and now edited by the latter's widow. It covers only a portion of Bernard's career in this country, where he met with much popularity and success; but, owing to the long and frequent migrations of the theatrical profession in those days, the narrative for these few years includes life along our whole seaboard and in Canada. Mr. Bernard not only made his autobiography a record of his own doings and observations, but he used it apparently as a receptacle to empty his memory into, without much regard to whether his facts and stories were first or second-hand. Consequently one meets with a number of venerable jokes and well-worn anecdotes of the Revolutionary and Constitutional period, and some of an older date. He mingled in good society, and therefore had opportunity to learn something of our distinguished men and of the tone of the wealthier class, while he had a quick and humorous eye for the life of the country people. He is apt to leave narrative for dialogue, and he heightens and colors his "characters" in a theatrical manner; but the description he gives of the people and their ways is lively and realistic, and the satire is of the sort to be readily excused. The planters of the South owe him no thanks for the account he gives of them, but the Yankee peddler and the New York merchant are equally luckless; he discriminates well enough

between the native bent of the various parts of the country, and is able to give their due to the Virginian and South Carolinian and the New Englander, while his general temper towards all the Americans is open and one of hearty good-liking. He spent a considerable part of the time covered by this volume in Boston, in the management of the Federal Street Theatre, but unfortunately in the years of the Embargo, and consequently of no profits, though elsewhere in the country, he says, the theatres made money. His sketches of the players and their peculiarities are very telling, and give us a good deal of information. Of manners he offers, indeed, a few illustrations, but not much that is of great novelty; his forte as a humorist interferes with his exactness as an observer, and he is perpetually on the edge of caricature and often transgresses. This makes his book more readable, and he has spiced it well with adventure and anecdote.

He had one notable encounter with Washington near Mt. Vernon. The two assisted in righting a vehicle that had met with an accident, and, after some little time of such fellowship in action, Washington recognized the actor, introduced himself, and invited Bernard to his house to rest a while. The account of the interview of an hour and a half is very interesting, both for the closeness and exactness of Bernard's observation, and for the "feeling of awe and veneration" which, he says, irresistibly stole over him. Two remarks of Washington are noticeable. "When I mentioned to him," says Bernard, "the difference I perceived between the inhabitants of New England and of the Southern States, he remarked, 'I esteem those people greatly; they are the stamina of the Union, and its greatest benefactors. They are continually spreading themselves, too, to settle and enlighten less favored quarters. Dr. Franklin is a New Englander.'" The second relates to the abolition of slavery—"an event, sir, which, you may believe me, no man desires more heartily than I do. Not only do I pray for it on the score of human dignity, but I can clearly foresee that nothing but the rooting out of slavery can perpetuate the existence of our Union, by consolidating it in a common bond of principle."

The notes by Messrs. Hutton and Matthews are very slight, and the introduction is merely a brief, business-like preface, containing the dates of Bernard's life (he returned to England in 1819 and died in 1828), and the facts with regard to the manuscript and the previous publication of parts of this volume in periodicals some years ago. The work is really a valuable illustration of our early theatre, as well as thoroughly entertaining.

Talks with Socrates about Life. Translations from the 'Gorgias' and the 'Republic' of Plato. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

BEING asked his opinion about the institution of a thorough course of English studies in the universities of England, Mr. Bright, whose own English notoriously owes nothing directly, though it owes very much indirectly, to the study of the ancient classics, is bold enough to say, in a recent number of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that when reading Plato in Dr. Jowett's translation he was stirred to greater admiration of Dr. Jowett than of Plato. "I have been more astonished," he says, "at the wonderful capacity and industry of the Master of Balliol than at the wisdom of the great philosopher of Greece." Those who know Greek are not all of the same opinion with Mr. Bright, and, in spite of its manifold excellences, Dr. Jowett's translation does not satisfy every mind, assuredly not the mind of the author of the volume entitled 'Talks with Socrates about Life,' which is really a new rendering of a large

part of the 'Gorgias' and the opening of the seventh Book of the 'Republic,' and proceeds from the same hand to which we owe the companion volumes, 'Socrates' and 'A Day in Athens with Socrates.' The plan is the same, the execution the same. The translator is evidently under the stress of a mission, and honestly believes with many of us that Plato has yet some work to do for them that are without.

About a third of the 'Gorgias,' if we may trust a rough count, is given in abstract, the rest in an easy, graceful rendering, which shows close study and refined instinct. Dr. Jowett's way of making short cuts is not followed, but, to relieve what many moderns consider the tiresome prolixity of Plato's dialectic, the reasoning is summarized from time to time. Perhaps this may be well enough for the larger public for which the work is meant, but the breaks give an uncomfortable feeling of uncertainty, of incompleteness, that is not compensated by the small economy of space; and the better plan would have been to give the argument in the margin—an indispensable thing for Plato—and to let the reader do his own skipping. To be sure, the bulk of the 'Gorgias,' which is the longest of the Platonic dialogues, always excepting, of course, the 'Republic' and the 'Laws,' may be pleaded in justification of the abridgment; but for our part we do not like to see any support given to the notion that Plato's leisurely unfolding of his thought is due to the rawness of his dialectic method. This is of a piece with the other favorite theory, that the peculiar style of Thucydides is due to the unformed condition of Attic prose; and in popularizing Plato the translator does injustice to an unusually good rendering by giving it the amateurish form of a selection.

Of course it would be easy to find fault with this and that translation. We might say that the translator feels the Greek too much, that too much meaning is put into common words, which is the besetting sin of Conington and other "vivid" and "picturesque" interpreters. "Fingerhut" and "Handschuh" amuse the novice in German. After a while, if they do not become mere counters for "thimble" and "glove," they fall into the German sphere of vision, and lose their oddity for ever. And so to press the etymology of words in any language beyond the national consciousness is a decided mistake. For instance, "Looking forward to the Truth," the sub-title of the book, is far more to us than τὴν ἀλήθειαν σκοπῶν was to Plato. Whether it would have been possible to bring out the dramatic peculiarities more fully—to give one style to Polus and another to Callicles—is a matter that cannot be discussed without illustrations, and certainly cannot be discussed here. Nor can we show where a firmer grasp of syntax would have given a sharper edge to translation. The Platonic variety of vocabulary is well preserved, but this is not so noteworthy, as it might be proved that the eager quest of variety, so characteristic of English style, comes into it by lineal succession from Plato himself.

The introduction and notes will be found helpful by those for whom they are intended, and it is pleasant to see that the sympathy with Plato goes so far as to make the translator withstand the redoubtable Grote, whose defence of the sophists through thick and thin has really done harm to the views which he advocated, unless one is philosophical enough to be amused at the Jack-in-a-box fashion in which the sophist question pops up in the most out-of-the-way places. It were hardly to be expected that the translator should appreciate the importance of Thrasymachus, who was something more than "the pretentious bully whose only weapon is invective," for the real importance of Thrasymachus is to be sought elsewhere, and to acknowledge that Plato

is a sad caricaturist would not harmonize with the cult vowed to Plato's memory. Perhaps, also, a demurrer might be entered against the preference given to Gorgias before Protagoras as a gentleman. Surely nothing could be more gentlemanly than the way in which Protagoras closes the discussion, and the effect of the dialogue that bears the name of the Abderite is, on the whole, more pleasing. The 'Gorgias' is doubtless the more important work philosophically, and the meaning is not so concealed in the form as is the case with the 'Protagoras'; but to the lover of the artist Plato there is something too suggestive of the big drum in the 'Gorgias.' But the impression which a given dialogue of Plato produces, like the impression of a landscape, is very much an affair of mood and of light, and cannot communicate itself through translation.

American Literature, 1607-1885. Vol. I. The Development of American Thought. By Charles F. Richardson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1887.

THE reason why Mr. Richardson has put the least attractive portion of his work foremost was, presumably, because it is a law of historical narrative to begin with the beginning. It is apparently a history that he means to write, although this volume exhibits also the characteristics of a critical survey, an enlarged manual of facts, and an encyclopædia with authors' biographies and illustrative extracts. It is not a straightforward consecutive narrative, and yet it is more a history than anything else namable. The author excludes from treatment all fiction and poetry, which he reserves for subsequent examination. There remains to be considered the literature of thought as distinguished from that of imagination, and no one needs to be told that American thought was at first theological, then political, and passed slowly into its present literary and scientific stage. Mr. Richardson, who desires to treat literature in a large way, has analyzed the race inheritance of the colonists and the influencing environment of soil, institutions, and religious faith, and has traced the development, by expansion and assimilation, of the original English stock into the American nation. Consequently, as was natural, he adopts in his narrative the order of history: first, the records and diaries of the colonists; secondly, the works of the theologians; thirdly, the writings of the statesmen and orators; and then, in a somewhat mingled array, Irving, Emerson, the critics, historians, humorists, ending inevitably in the "miscellaneous."

The plan is too large for the materials. The nation has not expressed its life in literature so fully that its organization and growth can be summed up in a history of its literature. In the colonial period, where the facts are few and simple, the author sets them forth excellently, with theology as the thought-product of the age; but no one knows better than he that these sermons and treatises are no part of literature. On the other hand, when the times of Webster and Lincoln, of Irving and Emerson, are reached, where the facts are many and complex, the author's grasp of them relaxes, his reference to them is meagre, and he silently drops history for criticism. In proportion as he ceases to be a sociologist, he becomes a reviewer. His work, after he gets into it, is truly no more than an account of the principal books written on this side in all departments, with some details of the lives of their makers and some excerpts by way of sample. It is a valuable work; and in being less comprehensive than an avowed encyclopædia, and less exclusive than a history of pure literature, it fills its place as a useful larger manual.

One thing, however, is very noticeable in its pages, and confers distinction upon it. In his in-

roduction the author discusses what he calls the perspective of American literature. He deprecates the illiberal patriotism which exalts our books because they are ours, and he repeats the obvious truth that our authors must at last measure with those of other lands and of past times, no less now, when it is the English fashion to praise us, than in the early days, when it was so much in vogue to blackguard us; and he sets out to pass judgment in this catholic way on the dead and the living. What he says is admirable in truth and in temper; it is a sign of enfranchisement from colonialism, of a genuine culture spreading in the community, when conviction and purpose of this sort are found in a work of the secondary class; and the author keeps his word, but not quite heroically. He frequently remarks that the books with which he is dealing are not literature, but he includes them; and though he reprehends Mr. Stedman's good nature in allowing the names of the lower ten thousand to constitute literary annals, he is not wholly blameless in this same matter. In particular he has a weakness for burdening his pages with a theological weight, until one fancies that the fossil age in our literature never came to a happy end.

After making all allowance for one who is attempting to write five hundred octavo pages on American literature, and yet exclude all works of imagination from view, one cannot but think that, to reverse the poet's line, Mr. Richardson knew better than he builded. He, too, has exhibited the genial temperament, the large toleration, the easy-mindedness which he deplores in others; but rather, be it said, in admitting the candidates than in allowing their claims. The discriminative spirit, the sense of what the English and other nations have accomplished in letters, the honesty to admit that dead and dying names are in fact perishable, always enter into his criticism. Our literature began with Irving, and the debt due to him is justly felt to be large; but it is a new thing to find a writer compressing his voluminous works into the narrow compass of the 'Sketch-Book,' and deciding that this small and early book is what survives. And if Irving is thus looked on, what becomes of the Knickerbocker School? It is not, however, so hard to tell the truth about the wholly dead, as about those who, though buried, still live in the memory of friends. It takes more courage, humorous as it seems, to doubt that Ripley was a fine critic than to deny that Irving was a great historian; and he must be brave indeed who would pluck a Pleiad from the starry crown of Margaret Fuller. But as to Dr. Ripley, Mr. Richardson modestly suggests that "one can hardly assign to this veteran American critic a high or permanent place in our literary history," and, growing bolder, ventures to speak of "the essential hollowness of one who for so long a time seemed 'the Nestor of American criticism.'" With Margaret Fuller the writer's caution is almost comical: "Of the influence exerted by Dr. Ripley, who did not write a single book of high rank, I have just spoken. *Equally notable* . . . was that exerted by Margaret Fuller." Mr. Richardson is anxious to do justice to individuals, and at the same time not to discredit the Muses; and between the two he has as hard a task as any critic need wish to be delivered from. It is not often that he has the pleasure of pointing out some service to our literature which has been forgotten or underestimated; but once he does so, and very justly, in calling attention to Longfellow's early influence as an expository critic in making foreign literatures known here and arousing an interest in them.

This temper, this trial at writing a history of American literature which shall be truthful and set forth our achievement in just comparison with

that of other countries, this willingness to submit to a universal standard of criticism, are invaluable traits; and for their sake we would gladly have said nothing but good of a book which seemed to us so defective and unfortunate in its plan. The useful results which may follow when this method is applied frankly to our works of imagination, as it will be in the second volume, one need not forecast. In this volume the greatest reputations are not dealt with, except Irving's and Emerson's, and the latter is not shorn of its halo, though the direction of future criticism is to be discerned in the remark upon the essential narrowness of view involved in his religious revolt. The historians are admirably treated, with fulness, distinctness, and vigor; the critics, except for Lowell, would make a poor showing; and the humorists are dismissed with scant grace. It is upon the sentences, not too softly turned, which remind Frank Stockton and Mark Twain of their mortality, that attack might easiest be directed; yet the utmost of the author's contention seems to be that humor cannot dispense with literary art if it would be lasting. For the faithful investigation which is everywhere patent, and for the sound judgment and excellent proportion of the work, one must make due acknowledgment; but much more for the spirit of its criticism. What the writer has to say of our poets and novelists will be awaited with interest; but without that supplement, the present volume offers a broad, sensible, and scholarly view of American books which have won distinction in any field, and will be very helpful to the study of our literary past.

The Synthetic Philosophy of Expression, as Applied to the Arts of Reading, Oratory, and Personation. By Moses True Brown. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

THIS eccentric work is another illustration of the fact that every science has to pass through a stage of vague mysticism corresponding to alchemy and astrology. For although Mr. Brown prints the names of Darwin and Mantegazza on his cover as a sort of motto, he adds—evil omen—the name of Delsarte; and his book does not remove the peculiar impression made on the mind by this ill-assorted triad of names. The author has carefully read a number of modern scientific works, and often quotes from them so felicitously that one cannot but wonder that a mind which evidently appreciates the import of facts, should constantly indulge in wild flights of rhetorical nothingness, and weave a network of artificial and complicated distinctions and classifications that almost out-Hegel Hegel. After noting the assertion of the author's belief that the pendulum of evolution will ultimately swing back from Darwin to Swedenborg (!), the reader is quite prepared to find his physiognomic theories about on a level with the discredited bump-phrenology and the vagaries of Carus and Lavater. The author's hobby is a certain trinitarian formula, which is made to do service everywhere in defiance of common sense, psychology, and physiology. He tells us that man "manifests three natures," the vital, the mental, and the emotive—notwithstanding the fact that modern psychologists agree in using the word mental as comprehending all phenomena of the mind. Then he goes to work and divides every part of the body into "zones," one of which has a "vital," another a "mental," and the third an "emotive" significance. To take a few illustrations: "The natural language of the head is Mental, of the torso Emotive (!), of the limbs Vital." Then the torso is again divided into three zones, with corresponding differences of expression. Concerning the arm we read that "the Vital moves all parts of the arm from the centre at the shoul-

der," "the Emotive from the centre at the eyebrow," "the Mental from the centre at the wrist." This sort of thing is continued with amusing naïveté on every part of the body. But there is a point at which even Mr. Brown feels tempted to "draw the line." After noting that some of Descartes's pupils represented the master as teaching that "in expression, the eyebrow is Mental, the upper lid is 'Moral,' the lower lid is Vital," he, though with awe and trepidation, ventures to suggest that this may possibly be a case of blind adherence to "the universal formula." These are specimens of the quasi-scientific puerilities that make up the greater part of a book which, if condensed to a twenty-page essay and freed from all metaphysical jargon and efforts at cosmic generalization, would have been readable and suggestive.

The Functions of the Brain. By David Ferrier, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. Second edition, rewritten and enlarged. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1886.

THE first edition of Dr. Ferrier's work, noticed in the *Nation* of June 14, 1877, page 355, contained references to eighty-eight writers. That the second refers to two hundred and thirty-eight is evidence of the intense cerebral activity which has characterized the last decade. It may seem that this is sufficient reason for the increased bulk of the present volume; yet, while the additional illustrations are mostly welcome, and more space was undoubtedly needed for the presentation of the results of the author's own later experiments and reflections and for the discussion of controverted points—as, for example, "the visual area" and the question of "functional substitution"—much might have been compressed or even altogether omitted so as to keep the book at a convenient size. For neurophysiologists and most members of the medical profession, much of the anatomy is needless, particularly the elementary and practically repeated accounts of the fissures and gyres of monkeys and man on pages 235-240, 470-480; on the other hand, the details are inadequate to the needs of the laity, especially with the omission of the "Diagrammatic Summary" on page 290 of the first edition, which might have been easily made acceptable. It is equally difficult to account for the omission of the unique and instructive "Crowbar case," since it would seem to accord with the author's views respecting the inhibitory function of the prefrontal lobe. An even less commendable reduction is in the index, which was admirable in the first edition, but, excepting the names of writers, extremely defective in this. A well-known American clinician is not cited at all; another's careful contribution is hastily and unfairly said (page 293) to be "characterized by numerous gross inaccuracies;" and the volume is literally disfigured by contemptuous allusions to the opinions of a German neurologist whose works are commonly held in respect. There are, indeed, too many passages which might well convince the disinterested reader that the pursuit of experimental physiology does not insure appropriate methods, careful manipulation, accurate observation, logical deduction, scrupulous recognition of adverse results, or even courteous treatment of antagonists.

Mathematical Teaching, and its Modern Methods. By Truman Henry Safford. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 1887.

THIS little brochure, one of the earliest of a series of monographs on education, prepared, or to be prepared, by distinguished instructors for the use of the teaching profession, should be read and pondered by every professor and teacher of mathematics in the land. The author has two qualifications for writing on the subject which

are not often combined in one person: he is a skilled applier of mathematics in that branch of science where most extensively used, and he is a practical teacher of the subject. We might add a third qualification, that of a philosophic observer, able to analyze the current defects of teaching as shown in the work of his pupils, and to see how they should be cured.

What he tells us is already well known to all who have had to train graduates of our schools and colleges in the practical use of any branch of mathematics, whether arithmetic or the calculus. All our teaching of the subject is too abstract and unpractical. The very bias toward instructing the common boy in nothing but the useful, which we see so strongly developed in school boards, defeats its own object by leading to a system that cramps more than it enlarges the mental powers. The wearisome passage through a graded series of arithmetics in which the subject is taught over and over on the same plane, changed only by the introduction of more perplexing problems as the pupil advances, is not so conducive to an understanding of numbers as half the quantity of teaching might be when combined with elementary algebra and graphical representations of the principles involved.

The only fault we find with Prof. Safford's discussion is one which it is difficult to avoid in such a work—a lack of explicitness and point in showing how mathematics should be taught. The teacher who goes through the book will see well enough what is wrong in our present system, but we fear he will be perplexed in deciding how he is to correct the wrong. He will find many good words about Grube and his method, but how is he to find out who Grube is and what his method is? Some of our teachers think that a student of solid geometry ought not to use a material figure to represent the lines and planes he is reasoning about, because he ought to have all the necessary conceptions ready-made in his own mind. These teachers will find very wholesome instruction in the importance of "objectivity" in teaching, and the necessity of object lessons; but it hardly suffices to have the author suggest the use of the stereoscope, the walls of the class-room, the magic lantern, etc. We question whether Prof. Safford does not lay too much stress on teaching the facts of geometry, as though mere facts were any more fruitful here than in any other branch of knowledge. The greatest defect in all our mathematical teaching, so far as immediate results are concerned, is that it does not give the student a clear and ready conception of the numbers and magnitudes he is working with and talking about. Such expressions as "seven per cent.," "three-thirteenths," and "two right angles," are to him little more than meaningless phrases, which he knows how to use, but which do not represent any accurate quantitative conceptions in his own mind. What we want is a system of quickening such conceptions; and we cannot but wish our author had shown more explicitly how this is to be done.

A Tramp Trip. How to See Europe on Fifty Cents a Day. By Lee Meriwether. Harper & Bros. 1887.

THE author of this very interesting and instructive volume visited Europe apparently for the purpose of investigating at first hand the condition of the laboring people of the Continent, and has made a formal report to the United States Labor Bureau. In order to mingle with the people more directly and intimately, he made a large part of the journey on foot, or by water in the steerage, and lived as inexpensively as possible. In this narrative, which is always sprightly and alive, he tells the incidents of his tour from New York to Naples, thence north through Switzer-

land to South Germany, down the Danube to Constantinople, and north again through Russia to St. Petersburg, and by the Berlin and Amsterdam route to England. The bulk of the book is made up of his experiences in Italy, the Danubian provinces, and Russia; and, seeing these countries in so unusual a way, he naturally has a large number of adventures and strange incidents to relate. The object he had in view, however—the condition of the poor, the rate of wages and scale of daily subsistence—is always before his eyes; and he seems to have done his work very well. The chapters, consequently, afford an admirable illustration of Mr. Edward Atkinson's recent statistical articles, and are profitable reading in connection with them. What the state of the peasantry of Europe is, one knows well enough in general terms, but it is always a surprise to find the special features of it; and when they are set forth with such directness and plainness as they are here, it is an invigorating surprise. One could quote hundreds of facts, were it useful, from these pages; and could select particular characterizations—the Roman shepherd, the Bulgarian peasant, the Neapolitan foreman—admirably drawn without any literary art or philanthropic feeling to color the simple facts seen by a young American observer. The bearing of the tariff and of military expenses is constantly borne in mind also, so that the work is unfairly represented by its title, which does not give the right idea of the nature of the contents. As a book of mere travel it is very practical and readable. When the writer ventures on the ordinary tourist topics of museums and antiquities he is less successful, but such passages are few, and there is comparatively little of journalistic sensationalism. The actual life of the country and its prominent phases, seized in a rapid journey (for though on foot the writer made brief stops), are the substance. The description of the steerage passage down the Danube and the chapters on Constantinople are particularly vivid.

The book is, altogether, quite out of the range of and above ordinary volumes of travel, and will give a fair, comprehensive idea of the hard labor and miserable poverty of the European masses. To do this was worth all the trials and hardships of the plucky explorer, who seems to have enjoyed his uncomfortable days with a light heart. A comparative tariff table is affixed in an appendix, and, from the frequency with which the author ridicules the idea that a tariff makes high wages, it would appear that he hopes his observations will enforce the gospel of free trade. Certainly, protectionists will get no comfort from him or his facts.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Alexander, A. W. Grant as a Soldier. St. Louis: The Author.
 Channing, Ellery Grace. Dr. Channing's Note-Book. Passages from the Unpublished Manuscripts of William Ellery Channing. Selected by his Granddaughter. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.
 Clark, Rev. F. E. Young People's Prayer-Meetings in Theory and Practice. Funk & Wagnalls.
 Creighton, Prof. M. A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation. Vols. iii. and iv. The Italian Princes. 1464-1513. London: Longmans, Green & Co. \$4.
 Dawson, R. C. James Hannington, First Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa. A History of his Life and Work. Author's Edition. A. D. F. Randolph. \$2.
 Downey, E. In One Town: A Novel. D. Appleton & Co. 25 cents.
 Field, G. W. Medico-Legal Guide for Doctors and Lawyers. Banks & Brothers.
 Gordy, Prof. J. P. Fischer's History of Modern Philosophy: Descartes and his School. Edited by Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.
 Homans's Banker's Almanac and Register and Legal Directory for 1887. Homans Publishing Co. \$4.
 Hunt, Prof. T. W. Representative English and Prose Writers. A. C. Armstrong & Son.
 Lockyer, J. N. The Chemistry of the Sun. Macmillan & Co. \$4.50.
 McCosh, Dr. J. Realistic Philosophy Defended in a Philosophic Series. In 2 vols. Vol. I. Expository: vol. II. Historical and Critical. Charles Scribner's Sons.
 Mommsen, Th. The History of Rome. Translated by Prof. Wm. P. Dickson. The Provinces, from Caesar to Diocletian. 2 vols. With maps. Charles Scribner's Sons.
 Oliphant, Mrs. Lucy Crofton: A Novel. Harper's Handy Series. 25 cents.

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